



## ***Daily Report***

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# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-91-234  
Thursday  
5 December 1991

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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5 December 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Burundi

### Foreign Minister Comments on Relations With Rwanda

EA0412164291 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] While weighing my words, I would say that there has been a [word indistinct] climate between Rwanda and Burundi: expulsion of diplomats on one side, double retaliation on the other side. Is this a sign of an end to diplomatic relations between the two countries? What-ever happens, the Burundi side says it will tackle the new turn of relations between the two neighboring states with great restraint and moderation. Here is Cyprien Mbonimpa, minister of external relations and cooperation, [words indistinct]:

[Begin recording] On 29 November, the Government of Burundi decided to declare a member of the diplomatic staff of the Rwandan Embassy in Burundi persona non grata. He is the first secretary, Mr. Antoine Nkezabera. At previous meetings, Burundi had informed the Rwandan Government that the behavior of the diplomat was incompatible with his diplomatic status and that it wished Rwanda to recall the official or simply proceed with his replacement. In retaliation, the Rwandan Government has just expelled two of our diplomats in Kigali: the first councillor and the third secretary. We take note of the decision and express our regret. It is an escalation [words indistinct]. The question which arises and which every observer could ask himself is whether the escalation will continue. [Words indistinct] severing of diplomatic relations between our two countries?

I would like to say that Burundi would not like to move in that direction. On the contrary, we believe that the Rwandan and Burundian people would not understand such a deterioration in our relations. It is for this reason that in view of the current circumstances, Burundi would like to show restraint and moderation. We have appointed new diplomats to Kigali. If there has to be an escalation, it will not come from Burundi. [end recording]

Burundi also asks the Government of Rwanda to stop giving support to destabilizing elements who aim at (?sabotaging) the ongoing policy of national unity in Burundi and the democratization process by allowing them, notably, access to Rwandan national radio. Here is Minister Mbonimpa:

[Begin recording] On relations between Rwanda and Burundi, I would like to tell you how surprised we were to hear the representative of a terrorist movement expressing himself on Kigali radio which is an official radio. Our astonishment is great as the movement had just launched attacks against Burundi, causing deaths in Bujumbura and other areas in the country. Since Rwanda started her war, Burundi has always adopted a positive attitude, though the true value of the gesture has not been appreciated in Kigali. We took measures to ensure that no attack could be directed against Rwanda

from Burundi. The opponents to the Kigali regime have never used the official Burundi media.

The fact that the detractors of the policy of national unity in progress in Burundi have access to the official Rwandan media constitutes an act which is against the security agreements signed in the framework of the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes. We call upon our Rwandan brothers and sisters not to support people who threaten peace, stability, and the policy of unity and national reconciliation launched in Burundi. The policy should not at all arouse fear in Rwanda. How would our Rwandan friends react if those who are against Rwandan policy had easy access or enjoyed a certain complicity with the Burundi official media?

As this is Sunday, I would say do not do to others what you would not wish them to do to you. Our Rwandan brothers and sisters have been experiencing war for one year. I believe that the war which has already caused many deaths and heavy material damage (?involves) all of Rwanda's friends and more so neighbors who feel the consequences. It is in this spirit that Burundi, her president, and her government have taken part in all the efforts to restore peace in Rwanda. Burundi remains determined to act in that direction. In return, Burundians hope that their Rwandan brothers and sisters will adopt an attitude in keeping with the spirit of good neighborliness and avoid acts and behavior which could harm Burundi and mainly jeopardize her security.

At a time when African countries' political and economic [word indistinct], it is important for our countries to trust each other, assist each other [words indistinct] because any other policy would be counterproductive. [end recording]

### Palipehutu Rebels Attack in Northwest 2 Dec

AB0312160591 Dakar PANA in English 1540 GMT  
3 Dec 91

[Text] Addis Ababa, 3 Dec. (PANA)—Rebels of the Burundi Palipe-Hutu opposition group Monday [2 December] made a second attack in the north-western part of Burundi, that country's embassy in Addis Ababa said in a statement Tuesday.

It said that the first attack took place on 23 November.

It claimed that many of the terrorist elements who attacked Burundi from a neighbouring country with automatic weapons, bows and arrows and machetes had been arrested and would be tried according to the laws of Burundi.

The embassy did not name the neighbouring country from which the attacks were said to have been launched.

However, the embassy said that the aim of the group, which is based outside Burundi, was to topple the government of President Pierre Buyoya by force of arms

and sabotage the democratization process which had been put in place by the Burundi leader.

An official of the embassy told PANA that although some elements of the group had infiltrated up to Bujumbura, the Burundi capital, the situation in the whole country was under control.

The group wants to foster ethnic hatred and fuel a civil war in Burundi, he said.

#### **Government Denies Tanzania's Involvement**

*AB0312161591 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in English 1745 GMT 2 Dec 91*

[Text] The Burundi Foreign Ministry has given more light on the state of relations with neighboring countries. In a statement released today, the Burundi Foreign Ministry says the terrorist leaders [word indistinct] new way of destabilizing the country following their failure to undermine the Burundi people's unity. Lies and misinformation are the new method used by the terrorists to spoil the country's image.

Using the foreign media, the terrorists have been pretending that Tanzania has been involved in the bloody events which erupted last week. According to the Foreign Ministry's [word indistinct] statement, the Burundi Government rejects categorically such allegations. To affirm that Tanzania—Burundi's neighbor and best friend—would do harm to Burundi people is unthinkable, the statement says, adding that the excellency of Burundi-Tanzania bilateral relations have become exemplary in the sub-region.

#### **Clashes Result in Over 270 Deaths**

*LD0312120991 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 3 Dec 91*

[Text] There is a new death toll following clashes in Burundi between government forces and armed groups, which the authorities claim are members of the opposition Paliputhu [Hutu People's Liberation Party]. The clashes resulted in more than 270 deaths. The toll makes no distinction between regular forces, attackers, and civilians.

#### **Cameroon**

##### **Military Command Systems Reportedly Canceled**

*LD0412220491 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] The systems of military command in Cameroon introduced last May have been canceled; their objective was to combat the spread of political unrest. Sophie Malibeau reports:

[Malibeau] The authorities in power have the firm intention of taking advantage of this measure by making it known to the opposition that the ball is now in their

court. Thus, just after the announcement of the lifting of these operational commands, an announcement made on Cameroon television by the official in charge of the Surete Nationale [detective police force] took the opportunity to issue an appeal to the opposition leaders to explain to the population and to their activists the contents of the declaration made during the tripartite meeting between the government, opposition and civil society in Yaounde on 13 November. The declaration advocated the logic of dialogue, but one should point out that a whole section of the opposition—its radical wing—had shunned that meeting. [passage omitted]

The authorities are thus trying to highlight their position in the dialogue started with part of the opposition. It remains to be seen whether the opposition as a whole will consider this measure to be significant.

#### **Chad**

##### **Supporters Seek France's Aid in Maldoum Release**

*LD0312221491 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 2 Dec 91*

[Text] The first anniversary of Idriss Deby's coming to power in Chad is marked on 2 December; however, the anniversary was marked yesterday by several military parades and by a speech by the president. Idriss Deby's remarks yesterday offer a glimpse of his plans for democracy. Christophe Boisbouvier reports:

[Boisbouvier] Idriss Deby says that his party—the Patriotic Salvation Movement—is firmly committed to supporting democracy and announces that a commission will soon be set up to arrange the national conference, scheduled to take place between now and May. However, he allows some doubt to hang over the national conference agenda. He announces that it will be charged with working out a new constitution to be put to a referendum, but he does not specify whether it will be able to tackle other problems, like the electoral code, Army reform, or the possibilities of setting up a transitional government. The opposition considers that these subjects are a priority and that the current ambiguity should be lifted as quickly as possible, all the more so since the crisis of 13 October remains unresolved.

The former number two—Maldoum Bada Abbas—remains in prison, and there is a new element this evening: Those of his supporters who succeeded in fleeing are beginning to stir again. Thus, Colonel Kaffine ended his silence and has just sent to AFP's Lagos office a communique from the faction of the Chad National Army which suffered in the events of 13 October. In the communique, he asks France to help him obtain the immediate and unconditional release of Maldoum Bada Abbas and the 56 officers who, according to him, are also reportedly detained. Col. Kaffine adds that, in his opinion, Maldoum was not preparing any putsch and that what was witnessed on 13 October was only a mock

coup prepared by the president himself. Of course, this version totally contradicts that which Idriss Deby gave on our station four days ago.

## Congo

### Premier Announces 30 Nov Referendum Postponement

AB0412235691 Brazzaville Voix de la Revolution  
Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The electorate will have to wait a bit longer with the shifting to a later date of the constitutional referendum as announced yesterday by Prime Minister Andre Milongo. This is not without reason. Congo needs 2 billion [CFA] francs to be able to successfully conduct the impending elections. Here is The Train Was Missed—A Reflection, by Sandi Mbambou:

[Mbambou] The first appointment Congolese had with the ballot box, as fixed by the election timetable, will not take place on 30 November. The constitutional referendum was postponed to a later date. Prime Minister Andre Milongo announced this on 25 November in the capital. The transition government requires 2 billion CFA francs to be able to meet this first challenge. Financial assistance from Congo's friends is, however, expected, the prime minister pointed out.

The election timetable has therefore just been subjected to a first alteration, and as the elections are intimately linked to each other, it would be wise to avoid drawing closer or widening the intervals between them if the Constitution is not to end up being rendered ineffective. The postponement of the constitutional referendum was quite foreseeable. Since the Superior Council of the Republic [CSR] had not met, it was clear that the draft constitution which had not been examined by the members of the council could not have been submitted to the verdict of the people. Yet Mr. Andre Milongo disclosed last night that he put this document before the council three weeks ago along with the draft electoral code.

The question that one could also ask is whether the constitutional referendum could have been held if the CSR had, meanwhile, met before 30 November, for the registration agents are still combing the streets, which suggests that the exact number of potential voters is not yet known.

### President 'Deplores' Postponement

AB0512070591 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] The current political situation is still dominated by the postponement of the referendum on the Constitution, which was initially slated for today. The decision by the Andre Milongo government to postpone this referendum indefinitely continues to give rise to reactions among the Congolese political class. President

Denis Sassou-Nguesso even broke his silence to join the debate. He deplores the postponement of the referendum. Listen to him:

[Begin recording] The Superior Council of the Republic, which controls and monitors the implementation of the decisions of the national conference, [words indistinct] on this issue. It also analyzed it and made the essential conclusions and consequences. I think this particular moment should draw their attention.

Today, we have observed that the census has not taken place. I think this could have been done since June. We have also observed that the electoral code has not been adopted. It should have been adopted before the referendum. I insist on the fact that they should have respected the electoral timetable. It is not necessary to keep on postponing things. [end recording]

In an interview with the Congolese national radio, the Congolese head of state, General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, today criticized the expulsion of Zairian nationals from Congo. Over 3,000 Zairians expelled from Congo returned to their country in the past days. The director of the Congolese border police said last week in Brazzaville that 75 percent of Zairians living in Congo would be expelled before 30 November, today.

## Rwanda

### Rebel Attack 30 Nov Leaves 17 Dead, 7 Injured

EA0512103391 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French  
1800 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Defeat on both military and media fronts: The rebel cockroaches [inyenzi-inkotanyi] pursue their barbaric and destructive actions by attacking defenseless people. Last night they attacked displaced [words indistinct] killing 17 people and injuring seven people [word indistinct]. Colonel Augustin Ndindiliyimana, minister in the office of the president in charge of defense and security, visited the area in the company of the ambassadors of France and Uganda, and the delegation of the International Red Cross to assess the damage. Details of the trip are given by Nsengimana.

[Nsengimana] [Words indistinct] Muvumba commune—Last night, at around 2200, [words indistinct] for some time they have been attacking nonmilitary targets and systematically massacring the civilian population. In attacking (Rwebare) camp, they burned houses of the displaced people, vehicles of [words indistinct] the Rwandan head of state, General Juvenal Habyarimana, dispatched his minister in charge of defense and security, Col. Augustin Ndindiliyimana. The Rwandan minister was accompanied by the French and Ugandan ambassadors to Rwanda and a delegation of the International Red Cross.



After arriving in Mutumba, they were welcomed by the prefect of [word indistinct] and the commander of military operations in Mutara Region before visiting the area where the killings took place. There is total grief in (Rwibare). People have died, livestock has perished, foodstuffs distributed by the International Red Cross have been reduced to ashes and dust, and the displaced people have nothing left. It is misery several times over caused by the rebels, enemies of Rwanda, man, and nature. [passage omitted]

#### **More Refugees Arrive From Burundi Fleeing Unrest**

EA0512114391 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT  
3 Dec 91

[Text] Nearly 3,400 Burundian refugees have now arrived in Nshili and Kivu communes, Gikongoro Prefecture. The stream continues. Jean-Pierre Nshimyumuremyi reports:

[Nshimyumuremyi] Burundian refugees continue to arrive in Nshili and Kivu communes in Gikongoro Prefecture. While at the beginning of last week 146 refugees were recorded in Nshili commune and 580 in Kivu commune, they are now numbered at 2,146 in Nshili commune, and 1,255 in Kivu commune. They are still mainly children and women. Giving reasons for these continual arrivals, one of the latest newcomers said that it was because calm has not yet been restored in their homes.

#### **Two New Political Parties Formed 30 Nov**

EA0412164591 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT  
1 Dec 91

[Text] In the framework of the democratic process launched in our country, two new political parties came into being yesterday [30 November]. They follow the Democratic Republican Movement, the ruling National Revolutionary Development Movement, the Christian Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, the Democratic and Socialist Party, the Rwandan Socialist Party, and the People's Democratic Rally. The two new parties are the Party for Islamic Democracy, PDI, and the Ecologists Party, ECO. This brings the number of legal political parties in Rwanda to nine.

### **Zaire**

#### **Mobutu Addresses Nation; To Seek Fourth Term**

LD0412214191 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television  
Network in French 1901 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Speech by President Mobutu Sese Seko to the Nation in Kinshasa on 4 December—live or recorded]

[Text] My dear compatriots, as you know, in accordance with Article 37 of the Constitution, today, Wednesday, 4

December 1991, at midnight, the seven-year mandate that you entrusted to me in 1984 expires. I am taking advantage of this opportunity to thank the whole of the Zairian people for having renewed its trust in me three consecutive times by electing me by universal suffrage to the highest office of our country.

Normally, in accordance with the program that I had announced in my speeches of 24 April and 3 May 1990, the presidential election, in particular, should have taken place before the expiration of this seven-year term that is coming to an end, but, alas, for reasons beyond our control but inherent in the dynamics of the process of democratization, these deadlines have not been able to be maintained. Whatever anyone may believe, this process of democratization, which I initiated following popular consultation, has achieved positive goals—in fact, from a multiparty system of three we have moved on to a full multiparty system, from the constitutional commission first to the constitutional conference afterwards, we have finally moved on to the sovereign national conference. We cannot but rejoice at this, because this process of democratization has, in the end, become the work of all of us.

It is the proof—if need be—that democracy in Zaire is not an empty word. It has been a living reality for nearly 20 months now.

Dear countrymen, for some days now I have been following with interest the very animated debate on the end of the presidential term. Without engaging myself in this debate on the interpretation of the Constitution, which, however, lies within the exclusive competence of the higher court of justice, that in case of dispute, I should, as head of state and the person directly concerned, tell the public of the real problems that should preoccupy us concerning the future of our young democracy.

As I said before, today I end the seven-year mandate that the people elected me to in 1984. I absolutely do not have the intention of maintaining my grip on the presidential seat because, as a convinced democrat, it is up to the [word indistinct] sovereign people or better I would say, the sole sovereign, to decide in all sovereignty on the choice of my successor in free and democratic elections. Any Zairian citizen who meets the conditions of legitimacy defined by the Constitution and the electoral law can freely be a candidate for my succession.

Here I remind you of my decision already expressed to face in a democratic game any of my compatriots who would like to be a candidate for the highest office. That is why, through my message to the nation of 25 November 1991, I made an appeal to the sovereign national conference to rapidly prepare a draft constitution to govern the Third Republic, a draft electoral law, and an election agenda. In doing so, I never intended to



undermine the sovereignty of the national conference as provided by the decree of 15 July 1991.

Dear countrymen, in the meantime, what will happen from tomorrow, 5 December 1991? On this subject, the answer is clearly given by Article 4 of the clauses of our Constitution. It must be stressed here that whatever is said here and there, this clause was initiated and introduced quite appropriately by our parliament in the normal exercise of its constitutional prerogatives.

Even if the aforementioned provision had not been made expressly and the presidential election in particular had not been organized, as is the case at the moment, then the president of the Republic, whose mandate expires on this date, would have had to remain in his position until the election of his successor according to the principle of continuity of the state.

My dear countrymen, when you are able to perceive this there is no constitutional problem with regard to the succession of the president of the Republic, myself. What is really at stake is the issue of putting the finishing touches as rapidly as possible to the process of democratization, begun on 24 April 1990, which in an atmosphere of peace, national concord, and respect for republican values, must lead our country to the Third Republic which we wish for with all our might.

Long live the Republic of Zaire!

#### Holly Alliance Calls Protest

AB0412223291 Paris AFP in English 2129 GMT  
4 Dec 91

[Text] Kinshasa, Dec 4 (AFP)—President Mobutu Sese Seko declared Wednesday he would run for a fourth term of office, hours before his present mandate was due to expire. In a national television broadcast, the president said he had no intention of giving up the presidency.

Mobutu said he would stay on as Zaire's constitutional head of state until the next presidential elections, the date of which has to be fixed by the sovereign national conference.

On Tuesday, the radical wing of the Holy Alliance opposition said the continuation of Mobutu's mandate was a contravention of the constitution. The opposition also called for a noisy protest at midnight Wednesday, when Mobutu's mandate was to expire. And if the president ignored the protest, the Holy Alliance said it would stage a general strike in Zaire on Thursday.

Mobutu considers that the revised constitution of April, 1990, allows him continue as president until the next election, a belief supported by his moderate opposition prime minister Nguza Karl-I- Bond.

#### Oppositionist Comments on Mobutu Mandate

LD0512000391 Brussels La Une Radio Network  
in French 1700 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] The Union for Democracy and Social Progress, the main party forming the Sacred Union, met the press in Brussels to discuss the end of Marshal Mobutu's presidential mandate. (Janina Meus) asked Justine Kasavubu what she thought of Prime Minister [Nguza] Karl-I- Bond's visit to Brussels:

[Begin recording] [Kasavubu] In any case, Nguza can make whatever trips he wants, but Nguza does not represent the Zairian people. He can only represent Mobutu or his wife, so it is clear that the Western countries that really want to save Zaire must not support what the Zairian people have rejected—in other words, the system of Mobutu, Nguza, and the others.

[(Meus)] But what relations have the Sacred Union and the Western countries been maintaining since Nguza has no longer been part of the Sacred Union?

[Kasavubu] Listen, the best of relations. Our respective political leaders continue to maintain relations with the Western embassies in Kinshasa, and I can assure you, madame, that we are understood. [end recording]

**Djibouti****Rebels Incur 'Massive Losses' at Obock 3 Dec***EA0312200091 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali  
1700 GMT 3 Dec 91*

[Text] The Armed Forces of Djibouti and the security forces in Obock this morning inflicted massive losses on heavily-armed foreign groups who had attacked Obock last night.

It is reported that the groups launched their attack on the military barracks in Obock at 0100 and the fighting continued until 0500 this morning. There was a heavy downpour during the fighting. The government forces routed the armed groups who left behind 12 dead and one wounded. The Djibouti government forces sustained no losses or injuries.

The foreign attackers used light and heavy automatic weapons. The government forces captured a large quantity of arms including Soviet-made anti-tank weapons and other assorted weapons. The government forces also destroyed two enemy vehicles.

Reporters from Djibouti radio and television visited the area this morning and found the Armed Forces in high spirits under the command of Captain Husayn.

**Defense Treaty With France Hailed***EA0512092591 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali  
1700 GMT 1 Dec 91*

[Text] A spokesman of the Republic of Djibouti's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation said: We are very happy with remarks by Mr. Daniel Bernard, the French Foreign Ministry spokesman, regarding the Franco-Djibouti defense treaty.

The Djibouti spokesman said: We were very much satisfied with the decisions of the French delegation led by Paul Dijoud, director of the African Affairs department in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We hope the defense treaty between the Republic of Djibouti and France will be implemented immediately, the spokesman concluded.

**Ethiopia****Finance Minister Resigns, 'Acting' Successor Named***EA0312194591 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia  
in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT  
3 Dec 91*

[Text] The Ethiopian Transitional Government's finance minister, Mr. Wolde Mariam Girma, who recently requested to be relieved of his duties of his own volition, has been granted permission to resign, reports from the Prime Minister's Office indicated. It was further stated that Mr. Wolde Mariam Girma's request to resign was granted after a thorough examination. In

addition, it was stated that Mr. Alemayehu Daba has been appointed acting finance minister.

**Minister Seyoum Interviewed on New Foreign Policy***PM2711145391 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 24 Nov 91 p6*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin by Sayyid Almad Khalifah in Addis Ababa; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Khalifah] What are the general features of your country's foreign policy under the new regime?

[Seyoum] Our prime objective is to promote stability, peace, development, and democracy in Ethiopia. We believe that foreign policy plays a major part in that. We will try to achieve that. In fact, we insist on achieving it. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] What is the share of the Arab world and the Middle East, in general, in your country's new policies?

[Seyoum] Ethiopia's relations with the Arab world and the Middle East used to be fraught with doubt, enmity, and suspicion. Now we have turned that leaf over completely. Our country now believes in good ties with the Arab world and the states of the Middle East. It believes that a stable Horn of Africa could contribute to peace and stability for our Arab neighbors and the states of the Middle East. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] How do you view your ties with Israel? Under the Haile-Selassie and Mengistu regimes, these ties were viewed with suspicion by the Arab states closer to you.

[Seyoum] We fully support self-determination for the Palestinians, always. We believe that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the core of all Middle Eastern problems. There can be no peace in the region and the world unless that conflict is settled. So we believe that the current peace efforts must continue until they achieve their objectives. In recent years our foreign policy toward Israel was based on a semi-alliance between Israel and the Mengistu regime. That did not serve the interests of either side. In fact, it led to the destruction of Ethiopia. That is why we now favor and are committed to an independent Ethiopian foreign policy.

Development of our ties with the Arabs does not mean that we will be working as part of a bloc against Israel. We believe in a just peace that ensures settlement of the Palestinian question.

[Khalifah] What are the dangers that might impede this almost ideal foreign policy of yours?

[Seyoum] The continuation of the wars in Sudan and Somalia is one of the biggest threats to our foreign policy. So we would like to see a quick solution to the Sudan and Somalia problems.

[Khalifah] What is your role in such solutions?

[Seyoum] We are currently in contact with all the parties to these wars in neighboring countries. Of course, the parties concerned will have to play the major part in solving these serious problems. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] What are your internal priorities now and how are you tackling these priorities?

[Seyoum] We have many problems now and our priorities are defined accordingly. As far as foreign policy is concerned, we want to consolidate our country's independent policy. That may not please some, but we will prove to everyone that an independent Ethiopia is better for everyone than a subservient Ethiopia. Internally, we have difficult economic problems. We still have millions of evacuees, refugees, and returnees. As they constituted a problem and a big responsibility when they were forced to leave their country, their return now also is a problem and a responsibility.

We are also purging the old armed forces now. All these are pressures and call for solutions that would remedy all situations.

[Khalifah] When you first assumed power in the country you declared a policy that accepted Eritrean independence in the context of the right of self-determination. That caused some clear internal reactions. Do you feel you were too hasty, and is there any contemplation of a retreat from that position?

[Seyoum] As announced, Eritrea's fate will be determined in a public referendum. We will respect the Eritrean people's choice even if it is complete independence. We fully believe that we would still have various links with the Eritreans if they opted for independence. I just want to emphasize that the days when unity could be imposed by force in Ethiopia are gone forever.

[Khalifah] You clearly have special relations with the government of Lieutenant General al-Bashir in Sudan. As is well known, al-Bashir's government has foreign policy problems with Morocco, the United States, and the Arab Gulf states because of the Gulf war and other matters. Do you not fear that your special relations with Lt. Gen. al-Bashir's government might adversely affect your foreign relations?

[Seyoum] We do not believe that our excellent relations with Sudan are directed against anyone. We want our relations to be excellent with all neighbors and not just Sudan. We believe that these relations are in the interest of our people and there is no cause for anyone to be annoyed by them or to question them. They are clear and necessary, and everyone will see that they are in the interest of the region and do not constitute a bloc.

[Khalifah] At the London conference, which was the last stop on your way to power, there was some confusion about the U.S. role, especially when Cohen said that his country had ordered you to enter Addis Ababa militarily. What is the truth about the U.S. role and its size?

[Seyoum] The U.S. role was a mediating role. There was earlier mediation by Italy and numerous other states. What helped the U.S. role to finally succeed was our own role, our own military position, and our strength at home, and Mengistu's weakness on both scores. The road to our success was also full of sacrifices, the blood of thousands of martyrs and wounded, and refugees and displaced people. The U.S. diplomatic contribution, which was appreciated, should not be seen by some as the basis of the victory against the despotic and coercive regime that existed in our country. When the London conference was held in May we were besieging Addis Ababa and were only 7 km from the capital. [passage omitted]

The U.S. talk in London was just a summation. We do not want to deny any contribution to the amazing transfer of power, but we must view matters in their true perspective and realistically.

[Khalifah] What is left of Ethiopia's relations with the Soviet Union since you assumed power?

[Seyoum] When they were the second world power, the Soviets supported the Mengistu regime militarily. We used to tell them that was a mistake because it was against the Ethiopian people. It was evident later that that policy served neither Ethiopian nor Soviet interests. It could even be said that it helped destroy the Soviets themselves, just as it helped destroy Mengistu.

Now we want to forget the past and look to the future. We see no difficulty in building a new basis for cooperation with the Soviets.

[Khalifah] According to some reports, the second part of the U.S. role is to support you economically, having supported your struggle for power through mediation, by giving you \$500 million in aid and loans to enable you to rebuild the country. How true is that?

[Seyoum] We do not deny that the West and the United States sympathize with us, as you have just said. A U.S. congressional delegation has visited us and so has an EC delegation. When they went back to their countries, their reports were encouraging and very much in our favor. Their recommendations to their governments were that they should help peace, stability, and democracy in our country.

As you know, our country has, over the past 17 years, been denied any development aid because of the Mengistu regime's war economy and destruction.

What we know about aid is that there is a UN resolution entitling Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa states to \$500 million in development aid. We have also heard that the United States has decided to contribute about \$40 million to that aid. Contacts are under way with it to increase that contribution. [passage omitted]



## Kenya

**Moi Recommends Existence of Multiple Parties***EA0312183591 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
1300 GMT 3 Dec 91**[Passages within quotation marks in English]**[Text] We interrupt our regular programming to bring you the latest news from Moi International Sports Center, Kasarani [on the outskirts of Nairobi].*

The special KANU [Kenya African National Union] delegates' conference passed a resolution recommending that the attorney general forward a bill repealing section 2A of the Kenya Constitution to Parliament. The conference was held at Kasarani and brought together over 3,000 delegates who met under the chairmanship of President Daniel arap Moi. The conference was called to further debate the multiparty issue after a consensus was reached yesterday by the KANU governing council to recommend the repeal of Section 2A, paving the way for the introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya.

Section 2A of the Constitution stipulates that there can be only one political party in Kenya—that is, the KANU. Kenya became a de jure one-party state in 1982.

*[Begin Moi recording in Swahili; passages within slant-lines in English] The problem is facing you. We in KANU know there are a number of issues. You do not realize that among you are Forum for the Restoration of Democracy [FORD] members [laughter and applause] who are clad in wolves' clothing [as heard]. They have penetrated into your midst, and it is no easy thing to eject them, for what is eating you is in your clothing [Swahili proverb: kikulacho ki nguoni mwako]. [applause and laughter]. This is the existing problem facing politicians: civil servants who have one foot here and the other one over there. Some even want to topple my government while they are civil servants by embezzling public funds and, at the same time, condemning bribery. What bribery is that when there are those who want my government to collapse? [applause]*

So I contend that the only remedy is to separate the goats from the sheep. [audience shouts; prolonged applause] If you want good eggs, you must find a way of sorting them out by dipping them in water: The good ones will remain afloat. [applause]

If we want to strengthen KANU so that it may be recognized as an impeccable party, which holds in high esteem values and quality, we must ensure that we cleanse it. This does not mean that we leave out the FORD elements. What I urge you to do today, so that we may see these fellows who are in politics and others who are civil servants, is to open up and repeal that section of the Kenyan Constitution, Section 2A [prolonged applause]. Then we will be able to determine the stand taken by these fellows.

Therefore, I propose that, because I have due regard for mothers, the aged, and university youths, those in secondary and primary schools, who all support me—I would not like any of them to be killed or injured—let us revoke that section. And I urge all of you to remain solidly behind me, pursuing our path as KANU collectively [shouts of approval and applause]. And also KANU's flame should remain alight. [shouts of "fire, fire"]

We are not opening up by saying that only one party should be allowed to operate: Let them even have 20 parties; let them come out in the open. [applause] But they should not be tribal parties. If you register and then it turns out to be a tribal party, then //it will not be registered. Tribal organization must embrace the whole nation// so that it may be recognized as a national organization.

I say this not as a consequence of //ressure from anyone. You know, I don't [word indistinct] decide because somebody tells me to do this. I do it because of the situation.// Because I do not want my people to be bothered, to be harassed while money is dishied out. Anyone who gets money from abroad, does he not come to sell the country? [audience replies "yes"] Who would ever give you money for nothing? If people are genuine patriots, if they are truly committed to building Kenya, they should come out and sacrifice to build Kenya. They should not merely talk. [end recording]

**Trade Agreement Signed With Tanzania***AB0412212591 Dakar PANA in English 1539 GMT  
4 Dec 91*

*[Text] Nairobi, 4 Dec (KNA/PANA)—The joint ministerial commission meeting of Kenya and Tanzania taking place in Nairobi has agreed to promote bilateral trade between the two countries. In the commission's Tuesday session, participants agreed to re-open new entry points along their common border to ease free movement of people, goods and services.*

They also agreed to relax formalities and utilise the existing modalities of clearing goods and payment arrangements within the PTA (preferential trade area).

They noted with satisfaction that in the spirit of former meetings, the immigration authorities have been issuing collective and temporary travel documents on a reciprocal basis to citizens and residents living along the common border.

Other areas of cooperation included tourism and natural resources, culture, public health and animal disease control, joint utilisation of medical facilities and technology, research, energy, minerals and water resources.



The joint meeting was a culmination of the bilateral sector meetings held between officials of the two countries at Lobo, in Tanzania in August, in Kisumu, Kenya in April, Dar es Salaam in May and in Nairobi in September.

**National Airline Begins Flights to South Africa**

*EA0512104191 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0345 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] Kenya Airways' maiden flight to South Africa yesterday opened a new chapter for the national carrier. Indications are that the national airline is likely to reap long-term benefits from this new route.

These sentiments are expressed in THE STANDARD editorial. The editor calls for the governments of the two countries to facilitate granting of visas so that citizens of both countries can equally enjoy the benefits.

**FORD Members Meet, Discuss Political Pluralism**

*EA0512064091 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
1800 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Text] In the wake of KANU's [Kenya African National Union] decision to recommend that political pluralism be allowed in the country, members of the opposition held a day-long consultative meeting. Six members of the Forum for Restoration of Democracy, FORD, in addition to several lawyers and other personalities who have led the call for change, held a meeting at Corner House in Nairobi today. But details of their agenda could not be readily verified. A source close to the group said the meeting had adjourned this evening and would resume tomorrow. The source said the opposition would make its common stand known soon.

**Jailed Ex-Minister Biwott Reportedly Ill**

*EA0512094691 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0500 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[From the press review]

[Text] Kenya TIMES page five story reports Johanna Biwott, wife of former Industry Minister Nicholas Biwott, claimed that her husband, being held in connection with Dr. Robert Ouko's murder, was very sick when she saw him last Friday [29 November]. The report, also carried by THE STANDARD on the front page, says Mrs. Biwott was summoned to the criminal investigation headquarters to clarify reports that her husband was taken to her at their city home, which she refuted.

**Five Released in Connection With Ouko Death**

*EA0512114091 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0345 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] Lawyer George Oraro, Paul Gondi, Selina Were, John Reru, and James Onyango K'Oyoo, who were arrested a week ago in connection with the death of the late Dr. Robert John Ouko, have been released from police custody. This story is in the banner headlines of THE STANDARD. It is also carried by the KENYA TIMES on its front page.

**Court Acquits FORD Members on Rally Charges**

*EA0512064691 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
1800 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Text] A Kitale court today acquitted a founder member of the unregistered Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, Masinde Muliro, after the state entered a nolle prosequi in the case against him. Muliro had been charged with organizing an illegal meeting in Kamukunji last 16th November in Nairobi.

Also discharged was the secretary general of the National Democratic Party, Salim Ndamwe. Both Muliro and Ndamwe were not in court when the nolle prosequi was produced by Inspector Pius Macharia, who informed the court that the state had no intention of pursuing the case.

**President de Klerk Announces 'Major Reshuffle'***MB0412190891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1858 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 4 SAPA—State President F.W. de Klerk on Wednesday night announced a major reshuffle of the Cabinet, dropping the deputy ministership of manpower and tourism and appointing a core executive as mintrade [as received] and industry and for economic coordination.

In a statement from Pretoria, Mr de Klerk said the appointments were necessitated by the negotiation process and the death of Mr Louis Le Grange.

"Furthermore, in view of the phase now being entered with the negotiation process and the apparent high demands that will result on members of the government, it has become necessary to make further moderate rearrangements in the responsibilities of ministers," he said.

"The new constitutional dispensation we are working at can only be successful if it is backed up by a healthy and growing economy which requires planning and coordination.

"In this regard, the death of Dr Wim de Villiers left a void and the need has again arisen to appoint a business leader with wide and applicable experience to the cabinet.

"Mr Derek Keys, currently executive chairman of Gencor [General Mining Union Corporation], is consequently being appointed as minister of trade and industry and economic coordination," Mr de Klerk's surprise statement said.

Other changes to the Cabinet include Minister of Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers losing his position as leader of the House of Assembly, but retaining his current position.

Minister of justice, Kobie Coetsee, is no longer chairman of the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly, but retains his portfolio as justice minister. The National Intelligence Service has also been added to his ministry.

Mr de Klerk also announced internal changes to cabinet committee responsibilities.

General Magnus Malan takes over from Mr Coetsee, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly, while Adriaan Vlok has been appointed leader of the House of Assembly in place of Dr de Villiers.

Apart from Mr Volk's portfolio of correctional services, Mr de Klerk said he was also appointing him as minister of housing and works in the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly. He will no longer be minister for the budget in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

Dr Org Marais will serve as minister for administration and tourism as well as minister for the budget in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly. The National Productivity Institute also falls under his jurisdiction.

"An upsurge in the importance of tourism is expected as South Africa progresses internally with the negotiation process and its international relations are normalised," said Mr de Klerk.

Mr Piet Marais, the state president continued, was being appointed minister of manpower and retains his position as education and culture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

Furthermore, to ease the burden on Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis, his deputy, Theo Alant, will serve as deputy minister of finance on a fulltime basis. He will no longer act as deputy minister of the National Intelligence Service.

Deputy Minister of Justice Education and Training Danie Schutte takes on the post of deputy minister of justice and of the National Intelligence Service.

The posts of deputy minister for manpower and for tourism fall away, Mr de Klerk announced.

Mr de Klerk ended his statement on the reshuffle by paying tribute to those who have given up key posts in terms of status and leadership.

"To those ministers, who give up key posts in terms of status and leadership positions so as to devote more time to the negotiation process, I would like to extend my thanks and appreciation for their spontaneous willingness to render sacrificial service," he concluded.

Dr Dawie de Villiers headed the National Party's delegation at last week's preparatory meeting for the scheduled Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), while Mr Kobie Coetsee was part of the government's delegation.

Codesa is scheduled for December 20 and 21 at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

**Cabinet Changes Effective 20 Jan***MB0412202991 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2013 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Excerpt] Pretoria Dec 4 SAPA—State President F.W. de Klerk on Wednesday night announced a major reshuffle of the Cabinet, dropping the deputy ministership of manpower and tourism and appointing a corporate executive as minister of trade and industry and for economic coordination.

All changes and appointments take effect on January 20 next year. [passage omitted]

### CP Criticizes Manpower Minister Appointment

MB0512140091 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1100 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] The Conservative Party's chief whip and spokesman on manpower, Mr. Frank le Roux, has criticized the appointment of Mr. Piet Marais as the fourth minister of manpower in the past 10 years. Mr. Le Roux said in a statement in Pretoria that he was not aware of any specific qualifications held by Mr. Marais in the manpower field. He said Mr. Marais' short career as minister of education and culture had illustrated his liberal thinking. Mr. Le Roux said that for this reason he was concerned about, what he termed, the rapid selling-out of the white worker, when Mr. Marais took over the extremely sensitive manpower portfolio.

### Codesa Steering Committee Holds 1st Session 4 Dec

MB0412165591 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1644 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 4 SAPA—The first meeting of the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Steering Committee took place at Jan Smuts Holiday Inn on Wednesday, the chairman Dr Zach de Beer said in a statement.

It was decided to form three task groups—organisation and planning, drafting, and process,—to whom the matters referred to the Steering Committee by the Codesa Preparatory Conference have been set for further investigation and recommendation.

A five-person Secretariat, consisting of Dr Zach de Beer, Dr P.M.H. Maduna, Mr N.J. Mahlangu, Mr R.P. Meyer and Mr C. Ramaphosa, was appointed to oversee the provision of administrative services for the task groups, the Steering Committee and the first plenary meeting of Codesa.

They will also arrange for the issuing of invitations to the first plenary meeting of Codesa and the venues for next week's meetings.

The task groups will meet on Monday, December 9 and the next meeting of the Steering Committee will be held on Tuesday, December 10, and will again be chaired by Dr de Beer.

### Issues Statement on Meeting

MB0412170491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1648 GMT 4 Dec 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]: "Media statement issued by chairperson on behalf of the Codesa Steering Committee: Wednesday, 4 December 1991"]

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The task groups will meet on Monday, 9 December 1991 and the next meeting of the Steering Committee will be held on Tuesday, 10 December 1991, and will again be chaired by Dr Zach de Beer.

### Task Groups 1. Organisation and planning

#### 1.1 tasks

- venue
- finance
- invitations (referred to Secretariat)
- security
- media
- protocol

#### 1.2 convenor: Dr P.M.H. Maduna 2. Drafting

#### 2.1 tasks

- declaration of intent
- purpose/goals
- broad principles
- commitment of parties/government
- standing rules
- decision making

#### 2.2 convenor: Mr W. Felgate 3. Process

#### 3.1 tasks

- agenda of Codesa
- working groups of Codesa
- identifying of working groups
- assignment for working groups
- functioning of working groups
- additional items to be handled by Steering Committee
- mediation and facilitation
- chairmen
- panel
- functioning
- keeping judges informed
- way forward

#### 3.2 convenor: Mr M.J. Mahlangu



**International Groups Invited To Attend Codesa**

MB0512161491 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
5 Dec 91 p 1

[Report by Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh: "Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Cuts First Teeth"]

[Text] The multiparty organisers of negotiations have begun to assert their independence from the government by establishing their own infrastructure and issuing invitations to five international bodies to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

As President de Klerk led his cabinet and other senior executives into a countryside retreat yesterday to discuss negotiations strategy, the negotiations process began to take on a life of its own.

Codesa's first steering committee meeting yesterday decided it, and not the government, would invite "guest observers" from the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is understood that Foreign Minister Pik Botha telephoned ANC [African National Congress] Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday [3 December] night suggesting that the Department of Foreign Affairs should issue the invitations.

It is understood too that the government is still sensitive about the possibility of a person such as PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat attending Codesa.

To prevent this, it persuaded the weekend preparatory committee that only officials of international organisations and representatives of internationally recognised states should be invited.

The steering committee also decided to employ a private company to handle administration for Codesa rather than the government, which has so far done most negotiations administration.

The chairman of the steering committee, Dr Zach de Beer, confirmed that invitations to the five international organisations would be sent today. They will be signed by Codesa's co-chairmen Mr Justice Schabert and Mr Justice Mohammed.

Invitations will also be sent to organisations which refused to attend the preparatory meeting at the weekend—the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB], the Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party] and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization].

The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] will also be invited again after its delegates stormed out of the preparatory meeting.

"The steering committee remains determined to make the process as inclusive as possible. The groups which

did not attend the preparatory meeting clearly qualified to attend and will have the option to join the process," said Dr de Beer.

He said no specific moves were decided on at yesterday's meeting to include these groups and parties.

The meeting yesterday established a multiparty secretariat to oversee the arrangements for the first meeting of Codesa on December 20 and 21. Three task groups were formed to reach consensus on issues such as finance, security, protocol, a declaration of intent and an agenda for Codesa.

The secretariat consists of Dr de Beer, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Mr Ramaphosa, Dr P. M. H. Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement and N.J. Mahlangu of the Intando Yesizwe Party in KwaNdebele.

The task groups are to be chaired by Dr Maduna, Walter Felgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party and M.J. Mahlangu of Lebowa's United People's Front.

The task groups will meet on Monday [9 December] and the steering committee, to be chaired by Dr de Beer, on Tuesday.

The two-day government retreat will discuss broad government strategy for the year ahead.

**Groups View Participation in 20, 21 Dec Codesa****ANC Bid for CP Participation**

MB0512060491 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is making a strong bid to get the Conservative Party [CP] to the negotiating table. National Executive Committee member Saki Macozoma says the CP demand for self-determination could be discussed at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, or Codesa. John Matham has more:

[Matham] Macozoma says there is no reason why the CP demand, that whites have a homeland where they can rule themselves, should not be discussed. He was responding to a statement from CP spokesman Andries Beyers, to the effect that his party might join the process if their right to rule themselves is acknowledged. Macozoma says the ANC is opposed to fragmentation of the country and believes a white homeland is impractical, but it's still prepared to give careful consideration to the CP proposal. He says it would be unreasonable for the CP to enter negotiations demanding that its policies be accepted, but adds, they are entitled to table their self-determination demand.



### FIDA Seeks Seats

MB0412153391 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
4 Dec 91 p 3

[Report by Esmare van der Merwe: "Gogotya's FIDA [Federal Independent Democratic Alliance] Seeks Seats at Codesa"]

[Text] Hundreds of trained Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the nation; ANC military wing] guerillas were among returning exiles who had defected from the ANC to join the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, FIDA president John Gogotya claimed yesterday.

This was one of the reasons why the ANC had objected to FIDA's participation in last weekend's preparatory multi-party talks, he told a press conference in Johannesburg.

He said the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] had abstained when FIDA's application to take part had been discussed.

Describing the moderate organisation's exclusion as astonishing, Mr Gogotya said many smaller organisations such as the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party] and SACP [South African Communist Party] had been invited to attend the talks.

FIDA currently had 400,000 paid-up members, he said. However, on Monday [2 December] a FIDA official mentioned a figure of 200,000.

Though the government had earlier stated that all political groups committed to peaceful negotiations could attend, organisations guilty of violence and intimidation—such as the ANC, SACP and IFP—had attended.

Mr Gogotya said FIDA would approach the convening committee of the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) to reconsider the organisation's participation.

He discarded the government's secret funding of FIDA—of which, he reiterated, FIDA had been unaware—as a reason for its exclusion from constitutional negotiations. If that were the yardstick, the IFP should not have been allowed to take part either.

Criticising the ANC for objecting to FIDA's participation, Mr Gogotya said: "If the ANC wants to get to power in an unjust and undemocratic way, then we know how they will run the country."

### COSATU Seeks To Attend

MB0312185391 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
3 Dec 91 p 3

[Report by Mike Siluma: "COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] calls for full say at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]"]

[Text] South Africa's biggest labour federation, the Congress of [South African] Trade Unions [COSATU], has

increased the temperature of the negotiations progress by demanding the holding of constituent assembly elections within 18 months.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, COSATU also announced it would only take part in the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa)—which hold its first meeting in two week's time—if it was allowed to attend in its own right, not as part of a delegation of either the ANC or the SA Communist Party.

Announcing the decision at a press conference, COSATU general-secretary Jay Naidoo said:

"We believe that the process of political transition should involve as many major players as possible, and that includes COSATU.

"We want to see democratic, one-person, one-vote elections within 18 months, if not sooner. We believe that 18 months is enough for Codesa to complete its task of preparing for the installation of an interim government which will focus on ensuring free and fair elections to a constituent assembly."

Mr Naidoo said the decision was taken by COSATU's central executive committee (CEC)—its highest policy-making body, after congress—after considering recent developments, including meetings between the Government and the ANC, as well as deliberations within the COSATU/ANC/SACP alliance.

"The CEC resolved that if COSATU could not take part (in Codesa) in its own right, (it) would not do so at all. COSATU would throw its weight behind the ANC-SACP negotiating teams," Mr Naidoo said.

Following from this, COSATU had set up a six-person committee "to liaise and strategise with the ANC and SACP in the negotiating process".

The COSATU decision, which effectively overturns one taken last month by the federation's national executive committee, favouring the integration of COSATU into ANC and SACP delegations to the talks, betrays fears about the Government's intentions and a desire by the organisation to reassert itself on the political stage.

It is understood from union sources that COSATU's decision to insist on attending the talks separately followed the Government's and other conservative parties' resistance to the participation of unions.

COSATU is understood to have been offered seats on the delegations of the ANC and the SACP, but the feeling among the 80-person CEC was that participation in this way would hinder the COSATU delegates from independently articulating the federation's views.

Other CEC decisions included urging the Government and employers to agree to the establishment of a macro-economic negotiating forum.

**PAC Denies Secret Meeting With NP Over Codesa***MB0412121091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1036 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[Text] Umtata Dec 4 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] did not hold a secret meeting with the National Party [NP] government prior to last weekend's preparatory talks for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa], according to the PAC national secretary on political affairs.

Mr Mahlubi Mbandazayo, during an interview on Radio Transkei's political programme on Tuesday night, said that after the PAC had "revealed" secret pre-talks meetings between the African National Congress [ANC] and the government, the ANC in turn accused the PAC of holding similar secret meetings.

He said that instead, the PAC's attorneys had sought indemnity on behalf of PAC exiles with the government, which were the only talks they had held with the regime.

Mr Mbandazayo said: "Asking for a passport or requesting indemnity from the apartheid regime could not possibly be construed as holding secret talks".

Asked why his organisation appeared to be so intolerant of political opinions which differed from their own—as their dramatic walkout at the preparatory talks had apparently shown—Mr Mbandazayo said the pre-talks collusion between the government and the ANC could not be tolerated.

The decisions taken at the preparatory talks "did not reflect the thinking of the majority of the Azanians [PAC term for South Africans]," he said.

"The homeland governments had to say what their father, President F W de Klerk, was saying."

The PAC will hold a special conference in Cape Town on December 16 to obtain a fresh mandate on whether or not to attend Codesa, which is scheduled to take place in Kempton Park on December 20 and 21.

**SACP Party Congress Session Continues 4-5 Dec****ANC's Hani on Future Plans***MB0512054491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1922 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 4 SAPA—The SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] has to become a bigger party because it wants to influence the political process, SACP Central Committee member Chris Hani said on the eve of the party's first legal congress in the country since it was banned in 1950.

"You can't influence the political process if you are just a small party of a few thousand," Mr Hani, also head of the

African National Congress' [ANC] military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK], told SAPA.

He was interviewed at a social function for senior communist party officials from more than a dozen countries, held at a Johannesburg hotel.

The SACP's Eighth National Congress, to be attended by some 400 delegates representing 20,000 signed up members, opens on Thursday at Johannesburg's Nasrec national exhibition centre, outside Johannesburg.

Mr Hani said he would stand for re-election as a Central Committee member and would continue to play a leading public role within the SACP.

He also did not know yet whether he would represent the ANC or SACP at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) later this month.

"The party will have a meeting after the election of a new Central Committee to look into its own negotiation strategy, and certainly the party will set up its own team.

"It's up to the party to decide whether I become a part of its negotiating team, and if the party decides that I should be part of it I'm ready to get involved," Mr Hani said.

"We need to have a sizeable and big following because we want the party to influence the political process in this country," he added.

Mr Hani stressed though that the SACP would not compete in size with the ANC, its tripartite ally with the Congress of Trade Unions of SA [as received] (Cosatu).

"The ANC has got to be the key mass party under the present conditions because the ANC draws into its ranks all classes and social strata.

"But at the same time Communists must play a very important role in the building of their own party so that it begins to contribute decisively and positively in the process of negotiations and of mobilising our people for the achievement of a democratic South Africa."

As a Marxist-Leninist party the SACP was a working class party—"our natural constituency is the working class, the poor peasantry".

"So, for us, negotiation must focus on the needs of the working class and the poor in this country. These needs must not be marginalised.

"The presence and participation of the party in the negotiation process is to make sure that the new dispensation in our country should not push aside the basic needs of the people in this country—housing, education, health care and the land," Mr Hani said, adding, "The party sees its role in the coming few years as making sure that the agenda of the improvement of the quality of life for our people is never abandoned."

Mr Hani said the SACP still stood for "deep socio-economic changes" in South Africa.

"We feel that it is not enough for the people to get the vote and to be elected to parliament.

"We should begin to implement the programme of the ANC, which is also our programme—the Freedom Charter, in terms of the equitable redistribution of the wealth of the country, as well as the redistribution of land."

Mr Hani predicted that the most important thing to come out of the four-day SACP congress would be its re-committment to Socialism.

The congress would therefore have to deliver a "clear and articulate" party programme. Central to this would be a new SACP manifesto, to be debated at the congress.

According to the SACP head office in Johannesburg, initial reaction at branch level to the draft manifesto has been a fairly widespread concern with the use of the word "democratic Socialism".

Branches want to know why the SACP needs to qualify Socialism in this way. They argue that Socialism is inherently democratic.

The congress will also debate a new constitution.

Although the draft constitution speaks explicitly about a "vanguard party", it has become clear that many branches want to emphasise this aspect more forcefully. The question of striking a balance between a mass party and a vanguard party is expected to be vigorously debated at the congress.

For instance, some branches want to know whether mass and vanguard can be reconciled, and whether they are not in fact opposed to each other.

"The views vary, but the majority view in my assessment is that the two elements go together," Mr Hani said.

He said the congress would probably decide that some of the newly-elected leadership will work solely on building the SACP: "In the past the leadership had to spend most of its time in the ANC."

The lessons from the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union "cannot be ignored", Mr Hani added.

"It would be criminal for us to say that everything is okay in the international communist movement."

As far as the SACP was concerned though, "Socialism remains the only future for the working people. But we've got to apply Socialism according to South African conditions," Mr Hani warned.

"We must abandon and drop any adoption of a model," he added. "The concept of models must be rejected by us. We are a South African communist party fighting for Socialism in South African conditions."

### Secretary General Slovo Attacks Government

MB0512123191 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1047 GMT 5 Dec 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 5 SAPA—The success of the upcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) depends on a short-lived interim government with full sovereign powers to convene a constituent assembly which will guarantee one-person one-vote elections.

This was said on Thursday by South African Communist Party (SACP) General Secretary Joe Slovo at the opening of the eighth national SACP congress.

In a two-hour address to delegates, Mr Slovo delivered a blistering attack against Capitalism and President F W de Klerk's government.

He was joined by African National Congress (ANC) National Chairman Walter Sisulu and Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) General Secretary Jay Naidoo in proclaiming that their tripartite alliance was unshakable.

"We must raise the cry throughout our land for a democratic election to install a new people's government within a year or 18 months," Mr Slovo said to applause from the estimated 400 delegates meeting outside Johannesburg.

"The calling of a democratically elected constituent assembly to finally decide on the future constitution is absolutely non-negotiable," the SACP leader, and senior ANC member, said.

Mr Slovo accused Mr de Klerk and his government of paying lip service to the idea of one-person one-vote. "However much they manoeuvre we will never shift our insistence on majority rule.

"At the same time they want us to agree to a constitution which, under different guises, will enable the white minority to block the will of the majority in a post apartheid South Africa," he charged.

Mr Slovo added that "even more ominous" was Mr de Klerk's recent statements to National Party provincial congresses.

"It is there that he takes off his mask. It is there that you hear the old language of platteland politics.

"He assures them that they will never hand over power to the ANC. He has begun, once again, to use the language of the Vorsters and Bothas, threatening emergencies, the use of his army and police force, and what he menacingly calls 'other measures'.

"He should be warned that he is not the only one with power to use 'other measures'," Mr Slovo told the



delegates, senior Communist party officials from about a dozen countries, members of the diplomatic corps and the media.

This is the first legal SACP congress inside the country since the party was banned in 1950.

According to Mr Slovo, the government plans to drag its feet on the time period for a new South African constitution because "they know that if a democratic election were held tomorrow the ANC and its allies would sweep the polls".

He also accused the government of "flying kites" for a 10 or 15 year transition period.

"We firmly reject this outrageous time frame," Mr Slovo said. "And we will certainly never agree to entrust the election process to them and their racist state apparatus."

To guarantee a free and fair election, he said, the whole electoral process, the security forces, the public media and certain aspects of the budget, needed be placed under the "firm control of a fully representative sovereign body".

"That is why our demand for an interim government is one of the cornerstones of our approach," Mr Slovo said.

To ensure that Codesa did not become a talking shop, its decisions should be binding and should be backed by the force of law.

"Above all its success depends upon two major decisions; a short-lived interim government with full sovereign powers to convene a constituent assembly within a framework which will guarantee free and fair elections based on universal suffrage.

"Our party's delegation (to Codesa) must be among those in the forefront of achieving these objectives," he added.

Mr Slovo appealed to the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation to join Codesa and not to allow themselves to be left behind by history.

"To refuse to participate in the process because you do not like its name, or some of the people who will attend, or where it will be held, would make Lenin turn in his grave."

For the tripartite alliance to succeed at the negotiating table it had to strengthen its unity, Mr Sisulu said, and not only broader unity within the recently formed Patriotic Front (PF).

"It also requires tight unity at the centre. It requires a powerful engine that propels the liberation movement as a whole," Mr Sisulu said. "That engine is our alliance, in particular the unshakable alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU.

"With such a force," the ANC national chairman argued, "we are in a position to guide the key components of our

struggle and ensure that the alliance leads the entire community of oppressed and democratic South Africans.

"Ours is a national liberation struggle, whose main objective is not only the attainment of formal political freedom," Mr Sisulu added.

"We in the ANC and indeed in the entire alliance recognise that the freedom of our people will mean little if they have the vote but have no houses nor land.

"It is our combined efforts that will determine whether or not the liberation of our country has any meaning for ordinary people," Mr Sisulu said to loud applause.

He was accompanied to the congress by a (?ring) of senior ANC members, including the organisation's general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, military commander Joe Modise, National Executive members Pallo Jordan and Aziz Pahad, and ANC National Chairman Oliver Tambo, who received a citation from Mr Slovo.

Also backing the continuation and strengthening of the ANC/SACP and COSATU alliance, the giant trade union federation's Jay Naidoo said that many tasks still faced the tripartite alliance.

"Although we are independent organisations deriving our mandates from our own constituencies, there are major areas (where) we need to strengthen coordination and cooperation.

"There may be differences in our approach and emphasis within the alliance (but) let us be frank and open in overcoming these weaknesses."

In spite of the launch of the PF, "we have seen continuing fighting in the peoples camp", Mr Naidoo added.

"This is a weakness. We need to organise our unity around concrete struggles, around a programme of action for democracy.

"The Left is under attack and we need to unite in defence of struggle for fundamental transformation," Mr Naidoo also backed Mr Slovo's call for a "people's government" within 18 months.

"Let the National Party step down, suspend this racist constitution, accept an interim government and prepare for a democratic, non-racial election of a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person one-vote. Nothing less will satisfy our people," Mr Naidoo said.

#### **Slovo Rejects 'Old-Style Socialism'**

*MB0512114391 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1100 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] The general secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP], Mr. Joe Slovo, says the party rejects old-style socialism and is firmly committed to multiparty democracy. Speaking in Johannesburg at the opening of the first Communist Party Congress to be



held legally in South Africa for more than 40 years, Mr. Slovo said the SACP remained convinced that despite the horrors of Stalinism, only socialism could ensure a world free of oppression.

He also reaffirmed the party's alliance with the ANC [African National Congress], which he said was firmly in place. One of the principal items on the agenda of the four-day congress, which is being attended by 400 delegates, is a debate on a new party manifesto which centers on the concept of democratic socialism.

**Energy Minister Rules Out Constituent Assembly**  
*MB0212104791 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*0957 GMT 2 Dec 91*

[Text] Durban Dec 2 SAPA—Shared responsibility for matters of state would ensure more responsible attitudes by the country's main political players, Mr George Bartlett, minister of mineral and energy affairs, said at the weekend.

But, speaking at the annual meeting of the Natal National Party Head Committee in Durban, he ruled out a constituent assembly.

While "co-responsibility" was a possibility, a constituent assembly would pre-empt vital discussions for a stable future, said Mr Bartlett.

The year ahead would be the most critical in the country's history, but the National Party was convinced that neither individuals nor population groups had anything to fear in a new dispensation.

He commended the rapport between the National Party in Natal and the Inkatha Freedom Party, but was highly critical of African National Congress support for sanctions.

**AWB Leader Warns Police Against More Clashes**  
*MB3011121991 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1121 GMT 30 Nov 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Nov 30 SAPA—Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] leader Eugene TerreBlanche on Saturday [30 November] threatened war against an ANC [African National Congress] government at a march by about 300 rightwingers bearing firearms, flags and posters through Durban's city centre. "If we have to talk with the ANC we will meet them over the barrel of a gun," said the fiery rightwinger, who addressed the marchers and about 300 people at the steps of Durban's city hall.

"If the ANC governs this country, we will make war against the ANC.... We have no other choice but to fight against the communists," said Mr TerreBlanche, who addressed his khaki-clad supporters on horseback. He said State President F W de Klerk was declaring war

against "Boere [the Boers]" by "giving over to Joe Slovo and the Communist Party".

The marchers had intended to deliver a letter of thanks to the police for maintaining law and order, but police earlier indicated they would not accept the letter. In a brief interview before the march, Mr TerreBlanche said he believed police had refused to accept the letter because they could not trust their members anymore. "Ninety per cent of the force support the AWB anyway.... Police are afraid of force members' loyalty to the AWB."

Mr TerreBlanche, however, thanked the police during his address, but warned that "Boere" would never again allow police to set their dogs or fire on them such as the recent clash in Ventersdorp. If this happened again "we will shoot the hell out of you".

Referring to the recent Virginia by-election, Mr TerreBlanche said the swing to the right there indicated that the voters knew State President F W de Klerk, who he called a "jellytot [softy]", had lied to the nation. "You lied, you're untrustworthy, unacceptable and you must get out of South Africa," he told the cheering crowd—most of whom were dressed in AWB uniform and armed with an assortment of firearms.

The mounted rightwinger explained that his organisation did not hate black people but "Boere" had a rightful claim to parts of South Africa and "for that we're willing to fight and die". He charged that whites were sent to South Africa by God to "civilise the uncivilised". "We didn't murder or steal. We owe the blacks and the communists in South Africa nothing."

Mr TerreBlanche told the crowd of uniformed men, women and children that South Africa needed a "wall" to prevent other Africans from migrating to the country. "We must build a wall between us and the so-called independent states of Africa because the blacks run away from Africa and come here to share our achievements.... We need to stop people walking from countries where there is no apartheid to a land where there is."

Hundreds of shoppers and other curious onlookers turned out on the city streets to watch about 10 flag-bearing horsemen lead the first AWB march through Durban. No nasty incidents were reported.

An ANC supporter who happened to pass the marchers said his organisation maintained that everyone had the right to free expression, but added he was concerned at the open display of pistols, rifles and shotguns.

Black onlookers expressed mixed feelings on the march. One commented that the participants were "nuts" while another said: "This is the new South Africa. Everyone must be able to express themselves."

The march was extremely orderly with participants marching in time to the sounds of "Sarie Marais" and other Boer freedom songs played by a small orchestra.

**Visiting CSFR Delegation Views Trade Prospects***MB2811190491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1753 GMT 28 Nov 91*

[By Andrew Lefoka]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 28 SAPA—Czechoslovakian trade and industry leaders and their South African counterparts are discussing wide-ranging trade agreements, expected to contribute to the development of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Czechoslovakian Foreign and Trade Minister Jozef Baksay on Thursday told a Johannesburg news conference the discussions were expected to culminate in the visit early next year to SA [South Africa] by Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

During the Czechoslovakian premier's visit, the two countries will sign two trade agreements concerning the exclusion of double taxation and protection of investment.

"We are quite convinced that all these agreements will definitely contribute to the future development of trade and economic cooperation between our two countries," Mr Baksay said.

Mr Baksay and four Czechoslovakian officials arrived in SA on Monday [25 November] to expand trade possibilities.

They met SA [South African] Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Dr Org Marais during their four-day visit. They also held discussions with SA business leaders.

The visit follows the signing of a Czechoslovakia/South Africa trade agreement in September this year.

Mr Baksay said the two countries were preparing other agreements involving air traffic and tourism arrangements. The possibility of establishing a free trade zone was also discussed.

"Both sides have expressed their interests in establishing such a free trade zone...and in a very short time the experts of both sides will meet in order to discuss the details of these agreements."

Czechoslovakia considered SA to be a door to Africa, Mr Baksay said, adding that his country could become the door for SA into East and West Europe and the Soviet Union.

He said Prague had a very low foreign debt, amounting to about R[and]8.8 billion US dollars. "I can say that the business possibilities in Czechoslovakia at the moment are very favourable."

Czechoslovakians were not interested only in simple trading exchange, but also "in the field of performing joint ventures", Mr Baksay said.

The possibility of trade cooperation in the mining, textile, shoe-making, wine and food industries was also discussed and there were other fields which had to be investigated.

Lastly, it had been agreed there were no political and economic disputes between the two countries.

**Taiwan Vice Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit***OW2711231391 Taipei CNA in English 1446 GMT  
27 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg, Nov. 27 (CNA)—Republic of China [ROC] Vice Foreign Minister Fang Chin-yen arrived in Johannesburg Wednesday morning for a friendly visit.

Fang will meet with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha Friday, and will attend a luncheon hosted by South African Deputy Foreign Minister R.S. Schoeman on the same day.

While here, he will also preside over a working meeting of ROC ambassadors and representatives in African countries. The meeting will be held in Pretoria Thursday and Friday.

After the meeting, he will leave South Africa to continue a three-week tour of southern Africa, which will also take him to Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi.

**Press Review on Current Events for 5 Dec***MB0512140591*

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

ANC's Help to Government 'Ammunition' for Conservative Party—"Politics in this country has taken a strange turn when ANC [African National Congress] president Nelson Mandela tells a media conference that he will do anything in his power to ensure that State President De Klerk's power base is not eroded by the Conservative Party [CP]," declares the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 3 December. "Whatever Mr Mandela has in mind, we think it is dangerous if the ANC gives the State President any help whatsoever." "As for the CP, any overt sign of the ANC playing footsie footsie with the government, or the government doing so with the ANC, would give the CP tremendous ammunition against the National Party [NP]." "The CP is already making serious inroads into NP support, but the way to counter that is not by secret deals with the ANC, but by showing that the government is in charge; that it knows where it is going; that it is capable of putting an end to political violence; that it will stop the criminal violence that has terrified people in towns and cities; that it will restore the economy; that it will lessen the tax burden on the ordinary man; that it will cut the inflation rate; and that it will make

the new South Africa one which all reasonable men can accept. If the government cannot do this, its base will continue to erode."

Patriotic Front 'Beginning To Crack'—"We never for a moment thought that the Patriotic Front would work—and it is already beginning to crack," points out Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 4 December in its page 6 editorial. "The two main participants are the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], the one hoping to be a broadly based organisation that can attract Whites as well as Blacks, the other having the slogan, 'One settler, one bullet', which sums up its philosophy." The ANC and PAC are poles apart, and even the chance to confront the government at the negotiations with a united front cannot keep them from getting at each other's throat. "On the basis of what has happened, we can conclude that unity among the radical Black organisations is as elusive as it ever was, and the idea of a united front, call it a Patriotic Front or call it what you will, will never succeed."

#### THE STAR

PAC Leadership Tested on Talks Stance—Senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo writes in the "Opinion" column on page 24 of Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 5 December: "The claim last week by the PAC that the ANC and the Government had struck a deal to co-manage the country as an interim measure from as early as February is an indication of the PAC's mistrust of its Patriotic Front partner—and the walk-out from the weekend preparatory conference was further indication of how that mistrust has deepened." Also, the PAC "had been under siege from some of its grassroots constituents to withdraw from the 'talks'. Their understanding was that the mandate from the PAC conference had been only to talk about the modalities of handing over power and setting up the mechanisms for an election for a constituent assembly, which would then write a new constitution." Therefore, "this is the first time that the PAC leadership is being tested, and Clarence Makwetu and his deputy will be required to take to the road and explain to their constituents that unless the organisations gets on board, there is a grave danger that it will be left out of any solution—and that there is a need for the PAC's voice to be heard up front, instead of it being seen as an armchair critic. The leadership skills of the team will be measured against the success or failure in this regard."

#### BUSINESS DAY

PAC, CP Face Same Talks Participation Dilemma—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 5 December in a page 8 editorial says Nelson Mandela's statement to the United Nations on 3 December that "the new South Africa may be with us by the end of next year will probably prove to be a little optimistic. But, like the refrain from both the NP and the ANC that multiparty talks would

begin before Christmas, it does impose pressures on all sides." "While Mandela talks of agreement on a new constitution next year, spare a thought for those for whom just talking is an organisation-shattering problem. The mainstream of the PAC is one group in such difficulty. Militant PAC supporters have effectively staged a break-away. Attempts by the PAC leadership to save face by winning symbolic concessions over matters such as a talks venue have failed. But, showing a modicum of political savvy, the leadership is resisting withdrawing from talks, as it knows the alternative is years in the political wilderness. The CP faces precisely the same dilemma."

#### CAPE TIMES

CP Unlikely To Wrest Power From NP in Election—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 2 December in a page 6 editorial believes it is "highly unlikely that the Conservative Party will be given an opportunity to wrest power from the National Party in another whites-only national election, which the President is only obliged to call by March 1995. The government, the ANC and other parties participating in negotiations on a new constitution are keenly aware of the need to wrap up their deliberations and hold the country's first non-racial elections well before this date. So Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht is indulging in wishful thinking when he asserts that President De Klerk 'owes' the white electorate a general election in the wake of the CP's impressive victory in Virginia."

#### THE NAMIBIAN

Praise for Education Minister's 'Honest Assessment'—"Education Minister Nahas Angula must be commended for this week for providing Namibians with a brutally honest assessment of the state of education in this country," begins the page 7 editorial in Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English on 29 November. "In a commendable display of honesty, the Minister of Education dealt head-on with new and inherited problems. Angula admitted to a communication vacuum between his Ministry and the schools, saying that this resulted in confusion. Certain appointments by his Ministry had met with public debate and even outright rejection in one case. The teaching profession was in a state of flux—facing a wide range of problems from an unsatisfactory grading system to fraudulent behaviour." "Providing the electorate with an equally honest assessment of successes and failures can only increase people's respect for Government ministers."

#### RAPPORT

Editorial Views Importance of De Klerk's Foreign Visits—"United States President George Bush has been criticized for spending too much time out of his country. Also, people allege that certain incidents taking place, such as the Conservative Party victory in Virginia, can be attributed to the fact that President De Klerk spends too much time abroad," notes a page 20 editorial in Afrikaans in Johannesburg RAPPORT on 1 December. "Mr. De Klerk's trips are undertaken for reasons differing widely



from that of President Bush. President Bush can visit almost any country because of the powerful status of the U.S. internationally. The opposite is true for President De Klerk. International doors have only opened recently for South Africans. If the State President does not grab these opportunities with both hands then it could have fatal economic consequences for South Africa." "If he does not

take the trouble to correct certain statements made on domestic issues then he leaves the playing field wide open to other internal leaders who use the international state to call for the isolation of South Africa, in order to serve their own interests." "President De Klerk has to be the country's biggest salesman, knocking on international doors to present South Africa's case."

## Angola

### Democratic Party Calls for Suspension of Reforms

MB1711195491 Luanda Radio Nacional Net Ark  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] The Angolan Democratic Party, PDA, has requested head of government President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to suspend the economic measures announced last evening as well as grant it an urgent audience to discuss the issue. In a press communique issued in Luanda today following an emergency meeting, the PDA noted that the national impact of the government decision and its method of application will bring about serious consequences which will further worsen the difficulties already experienced by the Angolan people.

The PDA communique was read by its president, Dr. Alberto Neto.

[Begin Neto recording] Having learned of a package of economic and financial measures announced by the government on 16 November, the PDA National Political Commission held an emergency meeting to examine the decision.

As is well known, the measures announced by the government include, among other things, the devaluation of the Angolan currency, the introduction of foreign exchange levies, the deregulation of prices, and the elimination of supply cards.

The national impact of these government decisions and its method of application will bring about serious consequences which will further worsen the difficulties already experienced by the Angolan people.

In this context, the PDA has requested head of government President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to suspend such measures as well as to grant the PDA an urgent audience to discuss the issue.

Prosperity, fraternity, and democracy in the Angolan Democratic Party! [end recording]

## Botswana

### President Orders 15 South Africans Freed

MB0412114091 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1100 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] President Quett Masire of Botswana has ordered the release of 15 South African prisoners after requests by anti-apartheid groups and the South African Government. Announcing this in Gaborone, Radio Botswana quoted a statement from the President's office as saying that the prisoners had all been convicted of crimes under the laws of Botswana, but it did not give any details. The statement said the ANC [African National Congress], the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and the South African

Government had indicated that a remission of sentences would help the current process of reconciliation in South Africa.

## Mozambique

### Renamo Commentary Reacts to Chissano Remarks

MB3011132391 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo  
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Station commentary: "Is this pessimism, optimism, or an electoral ploy by Chissano?"]

[Text] Is this pessimism, optimism, or an electoral ploy by Chissano? [Words indistinct] it would not be an ideal subject for a speech that only claimed to [words indistinct] for the formal inauguration of recently built Chiomoio Airport.

It was not just an inauguration, though. It was, above all, an electoral ploy. Chissano created his own publicity. He tried to convince the people that Chissano and his party are the best things the people can have. This is not true. The Mozambican people no longer (?accept) [words indistinct] whether they come from Chissano and his party or from the Marxist regime itself.

Chissano's maneuvers seem to be part of a formula supposedly capable of diverting the people from rightfully and determinedly pursuing their aims. It is inconceivable that Chissano should continue to make baseless accusations against the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), seeing that he is aware of the damage his poor governance has wrought.

The Marxists brought about the war because they did not want to give the people freedom. It is not surprising that Chissano has said in his rallies that he would hand over power without any qualms should Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama win the elections.

Nonetheless, he knows that Renamo defends the people's just cause. It is for this very reason that Renamo believes that the country's leadership must be chosen by the people through free and fair elections. Only the people know who fights for their aspirations.

Chissano dared blame Renamo for famine in government-controlled areas. The following question begs to be asked: How can one explain that people living in Renamo-controlled areas have abundant food and production surpluses? Chissano claims that, while the government in power builds, Renamo destroys. As far as anyone knows, though, Renamo has never gone about asking for aid in the form of food, medicines, or manufactured goods.

Moreover, questions must also be asked about the decay of city buildings, which have not been restored since 1975, or city streets which sport enormous potholes in

spite of the massive amounts of dollar aid reaching the Mozambican Government to address these problems.

All this is no more than (an attempt by the government to run from its own past.) It is extremely [words indistinct] to blame Renamo for the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo's failures.

#### \* Aspects of Dhlakama's Personality Revealed

##### \* Political Survivor

92AF0126A Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese  
8 Nov 91 p 22

[Article by Lina Pacheco Pereira]

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama is the only leader of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] who has survived the battles between external and internal controlling forces. Those who know him say that the key to his success has been to "think less and accomplish more."

His official biography says Dhlakama was born in Chibavava in Sofala Province on 1 January 1953, son of the native ruler Manguande. He is married, father of four children, and deeply religious.

After receiving his primary education at the Catholic Mission of St. Francis of Assisi, he attended the Zobue seminary in Tete Province, a course commonly followed by many youth in the former colonies, given the shortage of schools and the heavy influx of religious missions that filled the gap. The seminary was administered at the time by the Italian order of White Fathers, who were expelled from Mozambique early in the 1970's for having denounced the massacres by the Portuguese colonial army at Mucumbura. Missionaries who worked there do not remember Afonso the student. "As to the man himself, we did not begin hearing about him until he became president of Renamo," O JORNAL was told by Father Agostinho de Sousa, who still serves at a mission in Mozambique.

In fact Dhlakama did not stay at the seminary very long. He ended up opting for a secular education, transferring to the Industrial School of Beira, where he finished the fifth year. According to his official biography, he then entered the Portuguese Army, from which he deserted in 1972, at the age of 19, and joined Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front]. But, according to the party in power in Mozambique, Dhlakama did not join it until 1974.

Following Mozambican independence in 1975, Dhlakama took an intensive course in accounting and was provincial commander of the military administration in Beira. That same year, he was accused of theft and expelled from the Mozambican Army. In 1976, he joined the Mozambique National Resistance, which had meanwhile been created from Jorge Jardim's militia in Rhodesia. The liaison seems to have been military engineer Andre Matsangaissa, then president of the MNR, whom Dhlakama had become acquainted with in

Beira and with whom he shared a common past: Matsangaissa had also been accused of theft in Mozambique, and had even been imprisoned for it.

The MNR then consisted of a force commanded and organized, basically, by Ian Smith's secret service, the CIO (Central Intelligence Office). Its primary objective was to make incursions into Mozambican territory, allegedly to destroy bases used by guerrillas who were fighting for independence of the territory that would later become Zimbabwe.

Ken Flower, then head of the CIO, who had a decisive role in organizing the MNR, explained in his book *Serving Secretly* [preceding title in English] that the Rhodesian Government hoped by that means "to protect the borders beyond the borders," and he confesses that he later asked himself whether they had "created a monster over which they had ended up losing control."

Knowledgeable about the subject, Flower explains that "the forms of resistance in Mozambique do not have and never have had an ideological character," nor have they constituted "an organic form of resistance against the government." That kind of resistance, says the former head of the CIO, was provided "by the ex-colonists who left Mozambique for neighboring territories or for Portugal and from there organized ways of fighting against Mozambique independence."

Afonso Dhlakama, whose nom de guerre was "Jacamo," assumed the presidency of Renamo in 1980, the year when the RMN (Mozambique National Resistance), until then controlled by Rhodesia, began to depend on the South African secret services and changed its acronym to Renamo.

Dhlakama's appointment followed the death—officially in combat, but under circumstances that were never ascertained—of Renamo's first president, Andre Matzangaiza [spelling as published].

Three years later, on 13 April 1983, Orlando Cristina, secretary general of the organization, was assassinated in Pretoria. Cristina had been a trusted associate of Jorge Jardim, had headed up his militia and private secret services, and worked for the Portuguese Army as an instructor of the Special Parachutist Groups and of the Flechas [Arrows] of the PIDE [International Police for the Defense of the State]. Actually, he played a much more active role in Renamo than President Matsangaissa. In the wake of his death, and apparently as a reprisal, two brothers—Boaventura and Adriano Bomba—were killed. One of them had been accused of being a Frelimo "mole."

The post of Renamo secretary general was then assumed by Evo Fernandes, who was assassinated in Portugal five years later when he no longer held that post, but was still considered the only man capable of lending Renamo an ideological and political content.



Dhlakama is seen by those who were close to Renamo as a man who is now trying hard to give the organization a political stamp that it never had but who, in light of the changes in South Africa and the evolution of the situation on the African continent, needs to establish himself as an alternative.

Perhaps the promotional operation set up around him is moving in that direction. This, after all, would be a victory for the so-called Washington-Paris axis which, under the direction of Luis Serapio, had been counting, just as the United States was, on Renamo becoming an organization with political content that would constitute an alternative to Frelimo, one able to sit down at the negotiating table with the Mozambican government.

Meanwhile, out in the field, it was the Bona-Pretoria axis, headed by Artur Janeiro da Fonseca, that was giving most of the orders. It persisted with the destruction and the debilitation of the government and economy of Mozambique, with consequences (now aggravated) that the United States was denouncing as early as 1988. By that time, according to the U.S. Department of State, Renamo was accused of having killed 100,000 civilians in Mozambican territory.

#### Portuguese Friends

Several references to compromising links between Portugal and Renamo have appeared since the latter's formation. At first, the connections seemed to be limited, as Ken Flower had said, to former colonists and various elements from the former PIDE. These included such men as Casimiro Monteiro, convicted of assassinating Humberto Delgado (O JORNAL, 15 October 1982), and Joaquim Sabino, an inspector from the Portuguese political police who, as it happens, was serving in Tete, where the Mucumbura and Wiryamu massacres occurred. But later, charges were made of alleged involvement by the Portuguese secret services.

The first accusations were made by former Renamo leader Paulo Oliveira, who surrendered to Mozambican authorities shortly before the death of Evo Fernandes.

According to his statements, he supposedly became acquainted at a training base in South Africa with Colonel Fernando Ramos "(connected with Dinfo [Military Intelligence Division])." He added that this military officer had been at a Renamo camp in the outskirts of Pretoria on the night when Orlando Cristina was killed.

It is even said that the Renamo leaders were referred to in reports by the Portuguese information services by code names that were not at all flattering; Dhlakama, for example, was dubbed "General Porra."

Last week, new disclosures that compromise the Portuguese secret services appeared in INDEPENDENTE. The weekly reported that Dhlakama's visit to Portugal had been arranged by the SIM [Military Intelligence Service] "which further supports the idea that it is the

SIM that actually controls the Mozambican rebel organization." According to that same news item, the military secret services were the ones that asked their South African counterparts to prevent a planned meeting between Afonso Dhlakama and Maria Barroso, wife of President Mario Soares, in Pretoria this past September. The justification, according to INDEPENDENTE's sources, was the "proximity of the elections of 6 October."

#### \* Visit to Portugal

92AF0126B Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese  
9 Nov 91 p 12

[Text] "As with the contacts that it held this week with Portuguese officials, Renamo is initiating relations with other international entities that may eventually participate in the negotiations in Rome," a top leader in Afonso Dhlakama's delegation acknowledged in a conversation with SEMANARIO. In other words, in asking Portugal to participate directly in the negotiations, Renamo is trying to reconstitute the setting of the Bicesse meetings. "I would not be at all astonished if the same Soviet and American experts who were at Estoril were to meet in Rome," the source declared.

As a result of the impasse in the Rome talks, the Renamo leader traveled to Lisbon to obtain greater Portuguese involvement in the peace process. Cavaco Silva responded that "he could make [Portugal] formally available only if the Mozambican government and the Italian mediators expressed that same desire." It may not seem like much, but Renamo could obtain no better response.

The entire process of "strengthening the contingent of referees" as desired by Renamo is rather delicate, since it would not be a good idea to offend the Italian mediators.

#### Dhlakama and Savimbi

The outcome of the visit by Afonso Dhlakama was extremely positive. Given the fact that the leader of the guerrilla movement had not received any official invitation at all to come to Portugal, the political results he obtained were extraordinary. In just a few days, he met with Durao Barroso, Deus Pinheiro, Cavaco Silva, Mario Soares, Maria Barroso, and Don Antonio Ribeiro, besides contacting humanitarian and medical associations such as the AMI [expansion not given].

When Dhlakama's trip was still scheduled for the spring of this year, a group of 25 personalities from Portuguese political life went so far as to form a "committee of honor" to receive the Renamo leader, as had been done earlier for Jonas Savimbi. Among the intended hosts were such men as Diogo Freitas do Amaral and Torres Couto. But the May/June trip was postponed until early November. As it turned out, Dhlakama arrived in Lisbon without any receiving line and without publicity. Sources close to the former committee of honor mentioned a possible understanding between Renamo and

the Portuguese SIM [Military Intelligence Service] to justify the discreet handling of the trip.

So Dhlakama did not repeat Savimbi's feat; that leader's first visit had generated tremendous controversy and mobilized all of Portuguese society. On the other hand, he obtained more visible political results than Savimbi did: Dhlakama was received by Cavaco at Sao Bento (Savimbi had been received at PSD [Social Democratic Party] headquarters), and met with Deus Pinheiro (Savimbi got no farther than Durao Barroso). During the meeting with Maria Barroso at the UNICEF offices, he announced the creation of a zone of peace in the area of the Rossano Garcia refugee camps.

It should be noted, however, that the political success obtained by the Mozambican guerrilla leader is not due, as it was in the case of Savimbi, to personal charisma but to the self confidence the Portuguese government permits itself to display ever since the success of its mediation of the Angolan conflict.

#### \* Compared to Savimbi

92AF0126C Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese  
9 Nov 91 p 12

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama is a very quiet man, almost timid. Without any trace of the "show-off" [preceding word in English] tactics that one would expect of a politician, he went to Fatima on Friday, the final day of his visit to our country. The delegation that accompanied him was greatly reduced in numbers, and taciturn. Father Antonio Oliveira, who accompanied the group, said he was frankly surprised that this man was not "an old fox like Savimbi" but "a true believer," especially since Catholicism does not seem to be the dominant religion in Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] (where evangelical, Protestant and Muslim creeds are

widely favored), but merely the personal religion of its leader, himself a former seminary student.

The Mass for Peace was, on this occasion, especially dedicated to Mozambique and, true to good politicized tradition of the Portuguese Church, the priest who gave the sermon did not forget to associate Marxism with Satan: Our Lady of Fatima, herald of the fall of communism in Russia would also be (will be? was?) the herald of the downfall of the Satanic doctrine in the African suburbs of the Soviet empire. With that hope, the faithful prayed.

On the steps of the sanctuary as he left the Mass, Dhlakama stammered as he answered questions from an arrogant journalist. He did not display political cunning. He was here for a week and did not give a single interview; rather, he evaded all such opportunities. When he visited Portugal the first time, in 1982, no one paid him any attention, even though he was already the top leader of Renamo. It was what you might call a semiclandestine state visit.

Now, despite the official meetings, Dhlakama still seems a strangely self-effacing man. He has none of the retinue of an African chief. Comparing him to Savimbi makes no sense at all. While the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader doesn't take a step without an army of "gorillas," Afonso Dhlakama traveled without a bodyguard and with only a detachment of three or four escorts (in civilian clothes) assigned him by Portugal, who always stayed several meters away from the leader. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine Dhlakama giving a speech. He exudes nothing of the cult of power, the taste for leadership, the immediate charisma, or the leonine narcissism of the UNITA leader. That is the reason for the inevitable questions concerning his acceptance and power over the grass roots. But it is hard to evaluate a leader's charisma when he is on a pilgrimage.

## Benin

### Visiting French Defense Minister Comments on Togo

LD0412193191 Paris Radio France International  
in French 1230 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Report from Cotonou by correspondent Assane Diop, including recorded segment of news conference given by French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe on 4 December]

[Text] [Diop] French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe has just held a news conference at the residence of the French ambassador in Cotonou. The focus was on the Togo crisis. There were no surprises in his speech; first, Pierre Joxe advocates a diplomatic solution to the Togo crisis; an African solution, added the French defense minister, who said that he has had consultations to this effect with the head of the Beninese state, Nicéphore Soglo.

Second, he specified that the 300 French soldiers who arrived in Cotonou last Friday, thus at the gates of Lomé, have been dispatched to the Beninese capital only to safeguard the French ambassador in Lomé, whose safety, according to Pierre Joxe, had been threatened at the time. Thus without further ado, we have an extract straight away from the speech by Pierre Joxe.

[Joxe] Several African politicians, not just President Soglo but others whom I have mentioned, expressed themselves the wish for political intervention, intercession, and I believe that they were right as neighbors, but apart from this all the democratic countries, including France, many European countries, the European Community, the United States—I see what I was reading this morning [as heard]—have taken up a firm position with regard to developments in Togo, the current developments and the desirable developments in favor of democracy, so we express complete solidarity; whether in Africa, Asia, in America, or in Europe, we are for democracy.

It is true, what we believe is that intervention by the African heads of state—some of whom have the experience of having led or else ushering in a process of democratic transition—such intervention is perhaps the most effective in Togo's case, if you (refer to) Jean-Pierre Cot, who spoke on the radio, I listened to him. Listen, I remember very clearly the philosophy of La Baule [French-African summit in France] and the prospects which it opened up, those it pleased and those it pleased less. Months and now years have passed, and we note that the La Baule philosophy has borne fruit. I was at the Chaillot summit a few days ago and I heard the speeches, among others the speeches of President Diouf and President Soglo. I am quite convinced that this development which has been undertaken—in which Benin will have played an eminent role—nothing will stop it. Those who might have had the idea for a few days that the fate of democracy depended on some armed military elements, which at that time were in such or

such a place, you will see a resetting of the situation in its true historic context, which such an idea is obviously not.

[Reporter] Why did you have 300 French servicemen sent here to Cotonou at the same time as disturbances were taking place in Lomé? Was it all connected with the tension?

[Joxe] First and foremost, for reasons which I have already commented on several times and these are well known: There was a time when the French ambassador in Lomé was in a way held at the prime minister's office in Lomé, and it was in the following hours that the decision was taken to introduce French units in the best possible conditions, and thanks to the agreement of the Benin authorities, we were able to install them in Cotonou. You will understand that when the French ambassador—in a friendly country, too—finds himself in a way a prisoner, well we are driven to take precautionary measures and if it became necessary, we would resume that attitude. On top of all that, when our fellow citizens risk finding themselves in difficulty, we also take precautions.

## Burkina Faso

### Elections Official Comments on Errors, Figures

AB0412214591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale  
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Some errors affected the rate of participation in the presidential election of 1 December 1991. After verification, the national organizing commission realized the errors this morning. For further explanation of the new figures, listen to Comrade Brahim Badimi, deputy chairman of the commission:

[Begin recording] The national electoral organizing commission has the honor to inform Burkinabes that there have been errors in copying figures of the provisional results of the 1991 presidential election in certain provinces. These errors are essentially at [word indistinct]. But after many verifications, we have decided to inform Burkinabes about the changes that we were able to make. The errors concern a certain number of provinces, the most important of which are Ouahigouya, [passage indistinct].

These changes consequently changed the rate of participation. Instead of 27.30 percent as announced previously, the real rate of participation was 25.28 percent. The direct consequence is that the rate of abstention was 74.72 percent, I repeat 74.72 percent. The number of votes cast has not changed, much more so as the changes did not concern the number of voters, the number of blank ballot papers, and the number of votes cast.

Candidate Blaise Compaore has therefore obtained, as previously announced, 90.41 percent of the vote.

Thank you.



## Guinea

### Government Said Under Pressure From Opposition

AB0512133591 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 3 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program; Sekou Kone report read by announcer]

[Text] General Lansana Conte's government is feeling the backlash of heightened political expectations and sweeping economic reforms. He's promised political changes, but at his pace. As for the economy, he has had no such reservations about succumbing to international pressure and the unemployed have again been out on the streets of Conakry to protest at the way they have been affected. From Conakry, Sekou Kone telexed this report:

[Begin recording] The demonstrators were mostly redundant civil servants and jobless university graduates. They brandished banners attacking the government and denouncing what they called corruption and favoritism in the administration. The high unemployment rate is one of the main causes of unrest in Guinea. About 30,000 workers were sacked in 1988 as a result of the introduction of an adjustment program at the behest of the IMF and the World Bank.

Today's demonstration was just one more manifestation of the high level of political dissatisfaction here. General Lansana Conte's government has been under pressure for some time from both the students and the opposition to introduce a multiparty system immediately.

Yesterday, the minister of interior and security, speaking to journalists, warned strongly against any political activity before 3 April, the day chosen for the legalization of political parties. He said political activity was still banned all over the country and anyone engaging in it would be considered an outlaw and dealt with accordingly. The minister said the government would take all necessary action to maintain law and order.

His warning comes as a coalition of political organizations, the National Democratic Forum, is pressing hard to get the date for legalization of political parties brought forward to 23 December. [end recording]

## Ivory Coast

### Recent Census Reveals Unemployment, Illiteracy

AB2411183491 Paris AFP in French 1602 GMT  
19 Nov 91

[Article by Jean-Pierre Gallois: "Rise in Unemployment, Persistence of Illiteracy, and Development of the Informal Sector"]

[Text] Abidjan, 19 Nov (AFP)—The rise in unemployment, the persistence of illiteracy, and the now vital importance of the informal sector as a source of jobs are

the major lessons of the general population census carried out in 1988 and whose results were first published in Abidjan on 19 November.

The results also show a dependency rate (number of unemployed depending on working people) of nearly one to one, the worsening situation of women, an increase in the number of foreigners, and the expansion of the Islamic religion.

Out of a total number of 10,815,694 people counted, the employed population stood at 4,262,753, of whom only 1,376,381 were women. The unemployment rate was estimated at 5.5 percent; 2.5 percent more than in 1975. But this relatively low percentage was due to the very small number of unemployed people in the rural areas (2.3 percent). In the urban areas, it averaged 11.9 percent and reached 15.7 percent in Abidjan.

If one only considers the Ivorian nationals living in the economic capital, [Abidjan] the unemployment rate even exceeds 20 percent (22.4 percent). This phenomenon primarily affects youths since 88.7 percent of the unemployed are seeking jobs for the first time.

The large size of the unemployed population (48.7 percent of those over six) has led to a dependency rate of 0.95 (compared to 0.84 in 1975), or practically every unemployed person depending on an employed one.

Economic activity is still characterized by the predominance of the primary sector (64 percent compared to 68.8 percent in 1975), a slump in the secondary sector (5.5 percent compared to 15.9 percent in 1975) and, above all, a marked expansion of the tertiary sector (30.6 percent compared to 14.9 percent in 1975).

This growth is mainly due to the expansion of the "informal" sector. Due to a reduction in the income from farming, company layoffs, and a hiring freeze in the public service sector, the informal sector has emerged as the major source of employment.

Regarding illiteracy, the situation is hardly promising. The illiteracy rate has been declining, but still accounts for 57.6 percent of people over six (75 percent in 1975). The picture is particularly gloomy for rural dwellers (70.6 percent) and women (67.6 percent). The "record" is held by rural women with a rate of 79.5 percent. Among the literate population, 59 percent did not go beyond primary school and only 0.9 percent went to college (0.1 percent for rural dwellers and 0.3 for women).

The census also revealed a marked increase in the number of foreigners living in Ivory Coast. With 3,039,037 people, the foreign community now accounts for 28.1 percent of the country's population (compared to 17.5 percent in 1965). Foreigners even account for one-third of the 1,929,079 residents of Abidjan.

The largest communities are the Burkinabe (51.5 percent of foreigners), Malians (23.4 percent), Guineans (7.4

percent), and Ghanaians (5.5 percent). Non-Africans (mostly French and Lebanese) account for 1.1 percent of the foreign community. The decrease in the number of French can be felt since it now only stands at 17,470 compared to 27,567 in 1975.

The rise in the immigration of Muslims has now made Islam the country's major religion. Ivory Coast now has 38.7 percent of Muslims (33.3 percent in 1975), 27.5 percent of Christians (28.6 percent), and 17 percent of animists (30 percent). The number of atheists has also been growing, now reaching 13.4 percent, twice as much as in 1975.

#### Further on Census Results

AB2411192091 Abidjan Radiodiffusion Ivoirienne  
Radio in French 1900 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The results of the general census conducted in 1988 have been published. The results were disclosed at the end of a four-day seminar, which was attended by all those who helped compile the census. Let us listen to reporter Frank About:

[About] The Ivory Coast's total population amounts to 10,815,694, according to the March 1988 general census. When compared to the 1975 general census, this indicates an annual increase of 3.8 percent. The gender classification shows that the population consists of 51 percent males and 49 percent females. The immigration rate shows a 6 percent increase over that of 1975. Foreigners living in the Ivory Coast equal 28 percent; 47 percent of Ivorians are less than 15 years old; and we are living longer, as the life expectancy rate has increased from 48 to 56 years. The reproduction rate has decreased, as women had an average of 6.8 children, and that figure has dropped to 6.3 children. Despite a progressive movement toward the city, the majority of the population, on average 61 percent, lives in rural areas.

The seminar's closing ceremony was chaired by Interior Minister Emile Constant Bombet.

#### Mali

#### Ministers Discuss Timetable for Elections

AB0512134091 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television  
du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] The minister of territorial administration, Commandant Moussa Diabate, met this morning with representatives of political parties at the Ministry of Territorial Administration. Present at the meeting were (Omara Fofana), minister in charge of institutional reforms and decentralization; Sada Diara, minister of communication and culture; and the governor of the District of Bamako, Mrs. Sime Mounasso.

Issues discussed at this meeting included ballot papers, access of parties to the media, participation of parties in financing the elections, and the election timetable. The

most essential thing to be retained from this meeting is that no election will take place before the special conference on the north slated to take place in Timbuktu.

Thus, the new timetable proposed by the government is as follows: 12 January was slated for the referendum, 19 January for the municipal elections, 26 January for the first round of legislative elections, 9 February for the second round of the legislative elections, 16 February for the first round of the presidential elections, and 1 March 1992 for the second round of the presidential elections. The date retained for the end of the transitional period is 26 March.

#### Niger

#### Interior Minister Denies 'Tuareg Rebellion'

AB3011181091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] There is no Tuareg rebellion in Niger, but rather armed bandits. This was the general conclusion made by the Niger minister of the interior after his first working visit to the north where, at present, there is complete insubility because of frequent Tuareg attacks. From Niamey, Malam Yaro has a complete report:

[Begin Yaro recording] Interior Minister Mohamed Moussa, who made these comments in the presence of the local press, also said that in Niger there is no political, ideological, or separatist organization set up by the Tuaregs. This revelation thus ends rumors about the existence of the Azawad Liberation Front in the areas visited by the minister; that is Tahoua, Tchintabaradene, Agadez, Arlit, etc. It is only known—and the minister confirmed this—that documents calling for a popular uprising among the Tuaregs have been seized from a man who is currently being detained by security forces.

Also recently, a group of armed Tuaregs tried to attack the mining town of Arlit, not far from the Niger-Algeria border. A confrontation ensued with the Army, which succeeded in arresting seven people and discovering an important weapon cache. After this confrontation, there were rumors about many Tuaregs being arrested and the area being completely surrounded by the Army.

The interior minister, who did not completely deny these rumors, simply stressed that the Army is on the alert and ready to intervene in case of any Tuareg attack. Whatever the case, Mohamed Moussa said he was optimistic about resolving the Tuareg problem in Niger because, according to him, the economic crisis affects all people of Niger. [end recording]

**Nigeria****Air Traffic Controllers Warn of Safety Problems***AB0512102691 Paris AFP in English 1101 GMT  
2 Dec 91*

[Text] Lagos, Dec 2 (AFP)—Nigerian air traffic controllers have warned aviation authorities that the "rate of failure of the navigational aids in Lagos" has reached "alarming" proportions, press reports stated here Monday.

In a recent letter to the Federal Civil Aviation Authorities (FCAA), the president of the air controllers association, E.O. Onasanya, said the failure was not limited to the two Lagos airports where landing instruments have been out of service for more than one year, the reports said.

At Kaduna Airport in northern Nigeria, the only location available for let down procedures had been unserviceable for more than a year and the radar at Port Harcourt International Airport in the south has been out of action for more than three years, the reports quoted Onasanya as saying.

The association cited about a dozen recent examples of incidents, including loss of contact with aircraft, which might have resulted in air disasters.

Aviation Minister Tonye Graham-Douglas, promised last month that air navigational aids would be provided or repaired at all the nation's 16 airports very soon.

**Senegal****Iran's Velayati Arrives for ICO Meeting***LD0512132291 Tehran IRNA in English 0923 GMT  
5 Dec 91*

[Text] Dakar, Senegal, Dec. 5, IRNA—The Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived here Thursday morning for the 21st assembly of the foreign ministers of Muslim countries.

The assembly will continue until Saturday [7 December], to be followed by a four-day summit meet of the OIC [Islamic Conference Organization, ICO] on Monday.

**Togo****Further on Events, Developments in Lome Conflict****Airport, Borders Remain Closed 4 Dec***AB0412182091 Paris AFP in French 1722 GMT  
4 Dec 91*

[Text] Lome, 4 Dec (AFP)—Baggage carts were placed all along the runway of the Lome-Tokoin Airport, with a

military vehicle in position at the end of the strip, it was learned today in the Togolese capital, according to airport sources.

Since the beginning of the military rebellion in Togo on 28 November, the airport has been open to traffic only for a few hours—on 1 December—to allow two commercial flights to land and take off, the same sources added.

It is not known who placed the carts on the runway to prevent landings. Despite the beginning of normalcy noted since this morning in Togo, the country's borders and the airport remain closed.

International communications are still interrupted between Togo and the outside world. At 1700 (local and GMT time), it was not known if the curfew imposed four nights ago was going to be extended.

**Koffigoh, France's Joxe Cited on Events***AB0412185591 Paris AFP in English 1755 GMT  
4 Dec 91*

[Text] Lome, Dec 4 (AFP)—Life was returning to normal in the Togolese capital Wednesday but political confusion remained after rebel soldiers forced Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh to pledge to form a new government.

Koffigoh said he was "free to move about" at a brief meeting with a few journalists in his home here. However no one appeared to know who—if anyone—was governing the country.

Meanwhile French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe, who has been in neighboring Benin since Monday, said he was reconsidering "the form and content" of France's military cooperation with Togo.

Togolese armed forces had benefited for years from significant cooperation from France, the former colonial power, and the fact that they had rebelled against a "democratic and legitimate power" was cause for a rethink, he said. Joxe also said a French warship the *Ouragon* arrived Wednesday in Cotonou with "materiel" for 300 French troops sent to Benin last Thursday.

Meanwhile troops loyal to President Gnassingbe Eyadema had left positions they occupied in the capital, notably the radio and television stations, which they had controlled for almost a week. Residents were starting to come out of their homes and a few food shops opened, but banks and large stores remained closed as did schools and the university.

Koffigoh, looking shaken by the ordeal of the day before when troops captured him on his office on the fifth day of a coup, told journalists he wanted "to restore the authority of the state." But he did not say when or how he planned to do this.

The 79 members of the transitional parliament elected in August by a national conference had fled either abroad or into hiding in Togo. Neither they nor other political



leaders who had emerged in the past three months appeared likely to join a new government.

In light of the damage at the prime minister's office wrought by guns and heavy artillery, it seemed a miracle that Koffigoh had survived. Latest figures showed Tuesday's attack killed 17 people and wounded 60, 40 seriously, while the rebel troops captured 51 Koffigoh supporters. The figures brought the total toll in Lome since the crisis erupted a week ago to 42 dead—soldiers and civilians.

"The country must be governed, I'm working to get things back on track," Koffigoh said. He appeared to be referring to a "provisional government" that both he and General Eyadema announced late Tuesday in a radio and television address.

Meanwhile the head of one of the main parties active in the shattered transitional government, Edem Kodjo, said the new government would be "illegal." Kodjo's home was set on fire overnight. It was not known who was responsible.

The only people likely to set up a new administration seemed to be members of the Rally for the Togolese People, the former sole party whose dissolution by the transitional authorities, announced November 26, sparked the coup.

Commenting on Koffigoh's remarks Wednesday, an international official posted here said "he is trying to save the last remnants of democracy."

Meanwhile about 100 residents demonstrated briefly outside the French Embassy, shouting anti-French slogans accusing the French of failing to intervene "to save democracy."

Koffigoh had appealed to France to send troops to rescue him and support the government, but France instead sent 300 troops to Cotonou, capital of neighboring Benin and 150 kilometers (90 miles) from here on November 28. Ten French paratroopers from that contingent came to Lome to help guard the French Embassy and prevented the demonstrators from entering the premises.

#### **Koffigoh Calls Cabinet Meeting 5 Dec**

AB0412192091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 1900 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Communique issued by Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh in Lome on 4 December]

[Text] The prime minister convenes the members of the transitional government at a Cabinet meeting tomorrow, 5 December, at exactly 0900 in the Palais du Renouveau, to examine current affairs.

Furthermore, the prime minister requests the population in general and especially civilian and military youth to be disciplined and to refrain absolutely from all acts of vengeance or provocation.

The minister of economy and finance will adopt all necessary measures to ensure the payment without delay of salaries to civilians and soldiers in Lome.

#### **RPT 'Militants' Oppose Cabinet Meeting**

AB0412232591 Kara Radiodiffusion des Jeunes Forces  
Revolutionnaires du RPT in French 2130 GMT  
4 Dec 91

["Communique No. 10" issued on 4 December; place not given]

[Text] The Young Revolutionary Forces of the Rally of the Togolese People all over Togo, today, 4 December, learned this evening, with surprise and deep indignation, about the convening of a certain transition government for a meeting on 5 December at 0900 at the Palais du Renouveau to discuss the so-called running of the day-to-day matters.

The militant democrats of the Rally of the Togolese People [RPT] wonder what transition government is being referred to. Convinced that peace and concord have not been (?restored) and that the demands of the people have not been satisfied, we deem it our duty to recall those demands as follows:

The transition government is dissolved, just as the High Council of the Republic. The convening of this dissolved transition government sounds like a provocation against the Togolese people and the Armed Forces and smacks of flagrant contradiction with the appeals to peace and calm made by Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh.

We therefore demand the cancellation of this meeting or else the prime minister will shoulder the entire responsibility of all the evil that may come out of this meeting of the council of ministers of a dissolved government.

#### **Security Reasons Delay Cabinet Meeting**

AB0512130091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 1230 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] The meeting of the transitional Council of Ministers, which was convened for this morning at the Palais du Renouveau, could not be held because of the improper state of the venue. Prime Minister Koffigoh went to see the place for himself. According to sources from his office, the Council of Ministers will meet later in the day as soon as a venue offering full security is found.

#### **Airport, Borders Reopened; Curfew Reduced**

AB0512141091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 1349 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Station announcement—speaker unidentified]

[Text] Beginning today, Thursday, 5 December 1991, the Lome-Tokoin International Airport will reopen and be operational around the clock. The land borders will be open all day until 1800 GMT. The curfew has been reduced and will run from 2200 to 0400 GMT.

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

11 Dec 91

